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*Bishop William White* Number

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE  
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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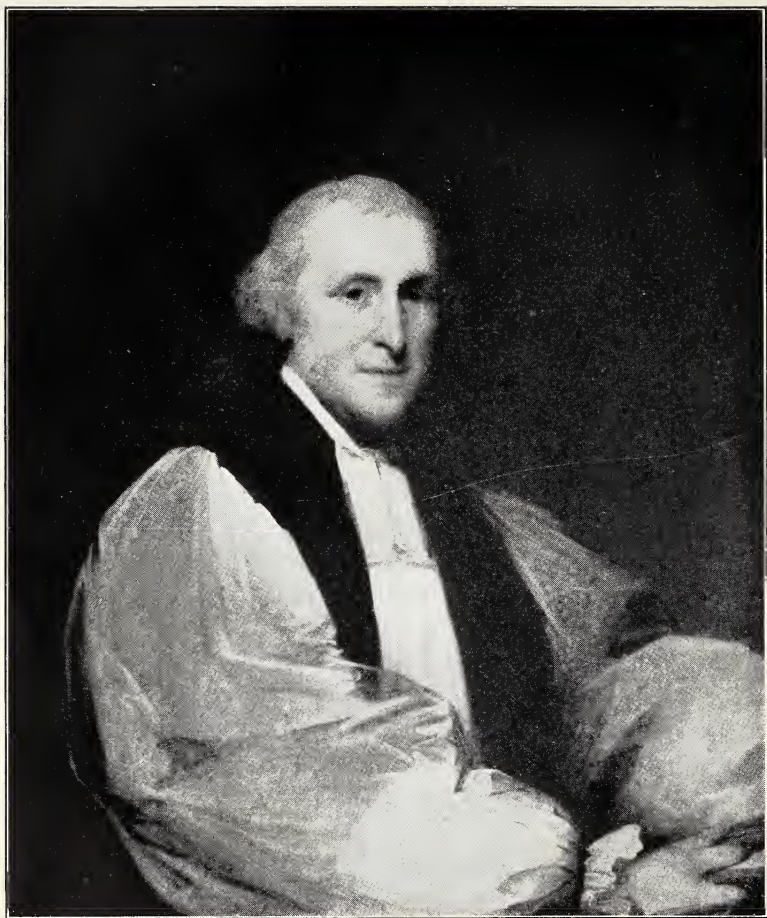
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ONE OF THE "MAKERS OF AMERICA"

*William White: Born, 1748; B.A. 1768; Deacon and Priest, 1770-1772; Assistant Minister, 1772-1779; Rector, 1779-1836; Bishop, 1787-1836; Died, 1836. This etching is a reproduction of the Gilbert Stuart portrait made about 1796, when Dr. White was 48 years of age.*



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## FOREWORD

Of the character of Bishop White; of his accomplishments as Bishop of Pennsylvania and his tremendous power in the community, it is unnecessary to speak. He was beloved not only by his own people but by all denominations who would affectionately speak of him as "Our Bishop". John Sargeant said there will never be but one Bishop of Pennsylvania who will be known as *The Bishop*. He was firm in maintaining his convictions as his various writings show, yet he was tolerant, liberal and courteous to Christians of whatever name. He was a strong Churchman. He was ever ready to discuss religion, but never to obtrude it, believing that introduced at the wrong time it might do more harm than good. The most perfect candor toward all was his most noted characteristic.

His closing hours were as beautiful as any in his life. When asked if he would like to receive the Holy Communion, with great emphasis he gives his assent, asserting that it was an ordinance significant of all that was most essential in Christianity. When asked whether he felt any inconvenience from the effort made at receiving it, he replied, "Not the least, but much comforted". Later he said he would be glad to express his feelings in some psalms and hymns but could not and requested them to read the hymn:

"Thou art the Way, to Thee alone  
From sin and death we flee;  
And he who would the Father seek,  
Must seek him, Lord, by Thee".

He then requested them to read Addison's hymn which he said had been a favorite all his life:

"When all Thy mercies, O my God,  
My rising soul surveys."

He followed the whole hymn with his lips. To the remark "How comforting it must be to you, sir, to realize thus the protecting care of God, in life, in death, and beyond the grave", he said with great warmth "O, it is charming". Early next morning at his request Bishop Ken's morn-

ing hymn was read to him. A paper of the day says, "Beautiful termination of a life which faith, holiness, and charity had made instinct and radiant with beauty! Beautiful illustration of the power of our religion to adorn and bless the longest life, to console, to strengthen, to make conqueror in death! Beautiful copy of a perfect exemplar—may we follow thee as thou hast followed Christ, live near to Him as thou hast lived in the meek piety of thy life, go to Him as thou hast gone in the calm confidence of thy triumphant death."

His was one of the greatest funerals ever seen in Philadelphia. As someone has said, "The universal feeling as expressed at the time was 'That reverend figure, that gray head so familiar, so honored, will never be seen in the streets of Philadelphia again.'"

*Almighty and everlasting God, we yield unto thee high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints who have been the chosen vessels of thy grace and the lights of the world in their several generations. Especially we thank thee for thy servant William White, first Bishop of Pennsylvania. Most humbly beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow the example of his steadfastness in thy faith and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, with all those who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice: Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*

FRANCIS M. TAITT,  
*Bishop of Pennsylvania.*

## **Ecclesiastical Sonnets**

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**“To thee, O saintly WHITE,  
Patriarch of a wide-spreading family,  
Remotest lands and unborn times shall turn,  
Whether they would restore or build: to thee  
As one who rightly taught how zeal should burn,  
As one who drew from out faith’s holiest urn  
The purest streams of sacred energy.”**

*—William Wordsworth.*

## ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE

*By the Late William Stevens Perry*<sup>1</sup>

### I. THE WHITE FAMILY

**I**N a plain house,—doubtless the ordinary three-story brick residence which was the usual type of domestic architecture in Philadelphia before the Revolution,—situated on the north-side of Market, between Fourth and Fifth streets, William White was born on Tuesday, the 24th of March, the last day of the year 1747 according to the Old Style, and corresponding with the 4th of April, 1748, of the reformed calendar. The ancestry of the family of White has been traced with painstaking accuracy<sup>2</sup> as far back as the middle of the fifteenth century.

The remotest ancestor whose name has been ascertained—John White, born about the year 1450—was a resident of Hulcote, an inconsiderable village on the western border of Bedfordshire, England, and but a few miles from Newport-Pagnell in Buckinghamshire, the home of the family in later years. An examination of his will, dated October 6, 1501, O. S., proves him to have been both devout and possessed of means. This interesting document, written doubtless by the village priest who witnessed its execution, is in the curious and contracted law-Latin of the period, and, after the manner of the times, commends the testator's "soul to GOD, the Blessed Virgin, and all the Saints;" directs that his body should "be buried in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul at Cranfield, before the image of the Virgin Mary;" bequeaths "to the high altar of Hulcote six shillings and eight pence for tithes forgotten;" recites various bequests of "lights, altar-cloths,

<sup>1</sup>*From the Life, Times, and Correspondence of William White, D. D., first Bishop of Pennsylvania, by the late William Stevens Perry, Bishop of Iowa (1876-1898), and Historiographer of the American Church. This remarkable work, covering the life of William White up to 1785, was never published, but two typewritten bound volumes exist in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania, dated 1887. In his preface to this work, Bishop Perry states: "We offer the results of our labor as a centenary tribute to the memory of him who, on the 4th of February, A. D. 1787, was by the laying on of hands and with prayer made a Bishop of the Church of God."*

<sup>2</sup>*Vide "Results of Investigations concerning the Ancestry of the Right Reverend William White, D. D., by Joseph Lemuel Chester, LL. D., Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, etc., etc.," in a noble volume entitled Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Colonel Thomas White, of Maryland. Philadelphia, 1879, pp. 83-124.*



etc., to the churches of Hulcote, Cranfield, Symstone, Ridgemont, Husbourn-Crawley, Woburn, Birchmore, Holyngton, Aspley, and Salford;" devises "to the priests in the Monastery of S. Mary the Virgin at Woburn 20 pence;" and makes "Thomas, Abbot of Woburn," one of the residuary legatees of the estate, as well as an executor.

It is evident that the testator whose last worldly injunctions were thus piously begun was a man of considerable wealth, as the instrument proceeds to convey lands in nine different parishes to various members of the family and others, while the marriage portion assigned to each of the unwedded daughters "Joane and Alice" is equivalent to fifteen hundred dollars of our present money. The second son of this worthy man, who inherited his father's name, and was still in his minority in 1501, when his father's will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, died possessed of the Manor of Caldecot, in Newport-Pagnell. This estate descended to his son Thomas, his grandson Lawrence, and his great-grandson Thomas, all "Lords of the Manor of Caldecot,"<sup>3</sup> and each in the direct line of Bishop White's ancestry.

William White, the second son of the last-named "Lord of the Manor," debarred by the law of primogeniture from any share of the manorial rights or acres, did as the younger sons of the gentry at that time were wont to do; and going up to London, entered into trade. By his industry and good success he founded a business to which his descendants to the third generation succeeded, and which prospered for upwards of a hundred years. The vocation of this worthy Tradesman, "citizen and haberdasher," as he styled himself, was carried on at White friars' Dock, close by the old Church of S. Bride's, where Wynkyn De Worde, the early printer, and Lovelace, the royalist poet, were buried, and near which Milton lived. Later, the family removed, and the business, now described as that of "merciers", was transplanted to Ludgate Hill, under the shadow of the new S. Paul's. The "haberdasher" William White, who died in 1676, had a brother John, mentioned in his will as living in Virginia. His son William, a "mercier", who died in 1709, had money due to him from a New York merchant by the name of Woolzy. His son William also a "mercier," who died in the same year and about seven months before his father, was the grandfather of the Bishop. His will, evidently made when the testator was in extremis, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 22nd of February, 1708-9, by "his dear and loving wife Elizabeth," who was the sole executrix. The business on Ludgate Hill having descended to his elder brother, William; Thomas, the second son, born in London in 1704, on reaching the age of sixteen, sailed for Mary-

<sup>3</sup>The armorial bearings of the family are, "Argent, on a chevron between three wolves' heads erased sable a leopard's face or." (*Ibid.* p. 85.)

land, probably in the retinue of Charles Calvert, the cousin of Lord Baltimore, who reached the province of which he had been appointed governor in 1720. Previous to his departure from home, the lad had been apprenticed<sup>4</sup> to a Mr. Stokes, at that time on a visit to England, who was clerk of the county of Baltimore, which then extended as far to the north as the Susquehanna.

The usual fee of one hundred guineas was paid by the widowed mother of the young exile, under the impression that Mr. Stokes was a member of the bar, and could bring his "apprentice" up to this honorable profession. This expectation proved futile, as the county clerk was no lawyer; but the young "apprentice", who shortly became the clerk's deputy, procured in time the necessary books, mastered their contents, passed the requisite examinations, and was for years an honored member of the Maryland bar. But the position in which he attained greater distinction was that of deputy surveyor of the counties of Baltimore and Harford in Maryland, acting as the direct representative of the lord proprietary and traversing the vast, wild territory of his district, and marking and establishing the metes and bounds thereof, just as, a little later, and not many miles to the southward, George Washington surveyed the domain of the Fairfaxes, and prepared himself, by endurance of exposure, and by uprightness and exactitude in mental and business relations, to be the Father of his Country. Here in the parish of Spesutiae the settler founded a home, and increased in wealth and honors, serving faithfully his king, his God, and his fellow-men. Here he married Sophia, the daughter of John Hall, Esq., of Cranberry Hall, in Baltimore County, allying himself thus to a family of high position and possessed of extensive estates. Here children were born to him, all daughters,—Sophia, Elizabeth, and Sarah Charlotte. Here he gained the title and commission first as major and then as colonel; and here he contracted his life-long friendship with the governor of Maryland, Samuel Ogle, appointed in 1731 in the room of Benedict Leonard Calvert, who was frequently a visitor, both in his Maryland and in his Philadelphia home, and who delighted to bestow upon his friend offices and honors other than those we have mentioned. Here his estates increased, till in Harford County alone, in 1777, he was taxed for nearly 8,000 acres of land. Here he served as a vestryman in the ancient parish of Spesutiae, having first qualified on the 29th of May, 1731, and continuing in office until the 3rd of June, 1734. Again on Easter Monday, 1742, he was chosen to this post, taking, as was then required, the oaths of allegiance, abhorren-  
cy,

<sup>4</sup>*The connection of a law-student with his principal was styled an apprenticeship in common with the relation between artificers and those learning their respective trades.*

and abjuration,—tests required by legislative enactment from 1716 till 1776,—and continuing to serve till 1745, three years after the death of his beloved wife. Wearying of his desolate home in Maryland, Colonel White removed to Philadelphia, and on the 7th of May, 1747, O. S., he was married at Christ Church by the Rev. Robert Jenney, LL. D., rector, to Esther, widow of the late John Newman, and daughter of Abraham and Mary Hewlings, of Burlington, New Jersey. Two children were the result of this marriage,—William, the subject of this sketch, and Mary, who married the celebrated Robert Morris. Colonel White, in removing to Philadelphia, had not dispossessed himself of the large estates which he had acquired in Maryland; and it was on one of his semi-annual visits to his old home that he died, on the 29th of September, 1779, on the farm and in the house of his daughter by his first marriage, Sophia Hall, and attended during his short, sharp illness by his wife and son. His life had been an active, useful, and honored one, both in Church and State.<sup>5</sup>

As a vestryman, and liberal supporter of Spesutiae parish, Old S. George's, Maryland, and, on his removal to the city, as one of the earliest trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia,—an office which he filled for thirty years,<sup>6</sup>—he showed that devotion to the interests of religion and learning which might be expected of a Christian gentleman.

Crippled<sup>7</sup> for the last twenty-two years of his life by a fall from his carriage, he was debarred from society other than that which gathered around his own hospital fireside; but his reputation for unsullied integrity, his wide experience, and the ripeness of his understanding, coupled with the charm of his manners, polished by constant association with the leading men of his day, made his later years, no less than his former, respected by all.

Of "his honored mother, Esther White," who died on Friday, December 31, 1790, Bishop White, in a memorandum made nearly thirty years subsequent to her decease, writes as follows:

"I say nothing of her many excellent Qualities and of her excellent Understanding; because, my Children at y<sup>e</sup> time of

<sup>5</sup>"My father," says Bishop White, "left the world with the reputation of unsullied integrity through life." From Bishop White's Autobiography which he prepared in September, 1819, at the request of Bishop Hobart, and which he (Bishop White) annotated and enlarged in 1830. This is our chief authority for the events which took place up to the close of the War of the Revolution.

<sup>6</sup>In the Catalogue of the Alumni of the University of Pennsylvania, 1749-1877, Philadelphia, 1877, Colonel White is recorded as one of the "founders."

<sup>7</sup>"This," says Bishop White, in his account of his own life, "kept him out of all society except such as could be had at his own hospitable table and fireside, and except in afternoons, of some of the principal gentlemen of the city, of his own age, who in those days habitually assembled at the public coffee house, for society merely."

her Decease were old enough to have a knowledge of her character. But I ought not to withhold y<sup>e</sup> fact that to her principally I owe Impressions of Piety in early Life."

Mrs. White was of an old Church family of S. Mary's parish, Burlington, New Jersey, and combined, as we learn from the same competent authority, "an excellent understanding with sincere but unostentatious piety."

Dr. Wilson, in his *Memoir of the Life of Bishop White*, speaks of the family of Mrs. White as "among the early settlers of West Jersey, under the purchase made by William Penn, before the settlement of Pennsylvania." A more satisfactory account<sup>8</sup> of the ancestors on the maternal side of Bishop White gives the following interesting particulars:

"In the records of S. Mary's Church, Burlington, the Rev. John Talbot, rector, makes the entry in his own handwriting of the baptism of 'Esther, of Mary and Abraham Hewlings, bap'd March 29, 1719.' Her grandfather, Abraham Hewlings, was at the time warden of the church, which office he had held at various times since 1708. Her father was warden of the church in 1728, and again in 1730, dying October 23, 1731, aged forty-two years, and his tombstone is yet in good preservation in S. Mary's churchyard. Abraham, the grandfather, and his elder brother, William, it is said came from Cirencester, Gloucestershire, in 1678, and landed at Burlington, William finally settling in Evesham. Both brothers are found assenting to the laws passed at the session ending March 3, 1676 (Leaming and Spicer's Laws, N. F. pp. 410, 411); but their subscription to these was obtained subsequently, on their becoming freeholders. The Hewlings were originally Friends, but in the Keith controversy returned to the Church of England. We find in the record of the Abingdon monthly meeting, Montgomery County, Pa., the marriage of Abraham Hewlings, of West Jersey, to Esther English, of Abingdon, ninth month, 1686; and his departure from the Friends was subsequent to this. His will, dated June 18, 1729, records his desire that his children be brought up in the faith of the Church of England. He is one of the signers of the petition, dated April 2, 1704, praying the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to settle the Rev. John Talbot among them:

"Our circumstances at present are so that we cannot, without the assistance of your Lordships, maintain a minister, tho' we are in hopes that as Quakerism decreases, our Church members will increase, so that in time we may be enabled to allow

<sup>8</sup>"Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Colonel Thomas White", pp. 129, 130.



a Reverend Minister such a competency as to have a comfortable subsistence amongst us.'

It was at William Hewlings' house at Evesham that the Rev. George Keith records in his diary his preaching, September 15, 1703. Joseph Hewlings, a first cousin of Mrs. White, was warden of the church from 1740 to 1743. Beyond the first name of her mother, Mary, we have no knowledge of her; she did not long survive her husband, for, under date of March 10, 1732, letters of administration of the estate of Abraham Hewlings, intestate, and of his widow, Mary Hewlings, also intestate, were granted to Joseph Hewlings, who is believed to be an elder brother of Abraham. . . .

Esther Hewlings (mother of William White) was married in Burlington to Mr. John Newman, during the rectorship of the Rev. Colin Campbell, but no entry of the marriage is to be found. Their married life was brief, he dying at their residence in Philadelphia, where she remained. His will was proved June 4, 1742, leaving her his executrix."

In a memorandum made by the Bishop on July 22, 1819, he writes of his "honored mother" as we have quoted above. At the same time he adds the following notice "of his honored father, Thomas White, Esq.":<sup>9</sup>

"He was indulgent to his Family in all their reasonable Desires, and was attentive to y<sup>e</sup> keeping of a plentiful and hospitable Table. Among his many good Qualities was strict Temperance and scrupulous Integrity. Perhaps no man ever lived and died with a more unreserved Acknowledgment of these Properties of Character. It would very much delight me to foresee that his Example will never be Departed from by any of his descendents."

It is not difficult to picture to mind the Christian, cultured household into which the future Bishop of Pennsylvania was ushered in the spring of 1748. The father, a gentleman of the olden time, courtly in manners, genial in disposition, agreeable, well-informed, and entertaining, decked on state occasions in the red coat and lace ruffles with the white scarf, all of which are shown in his portraits still extant, and wearing the powdered hair and peruke, the embroidered waistcoat, the short breeches with silver knee buckles and silk stockings and low shoes or pumps of that day and generation, is easily imaged forth. The mother was doubtless like her daughter,—tall, graceful, commanding, with a stately dignity of manner. We may suppose her to have been like her son, serene and saintly in countenance, and thus in form and feature comporting well with the rich lace and frills and quaint old family jewels, and the brocaded silks and velvets and ample skirts and

<sup>9</sup>"Account of the Meeting of the Descendants, etc.," p. 130.



high-heeled slippers which formed the costume of the period. No modern stoves or furnaces had as yet taken the place of the hearth-stone with its glowing embers, throwing back the bright firelight upon the polished mahogany sideboard with its shining glass and glistening silver, and making the candles burn dim in comparison. Around the fireplace were the pictured tiles, telling the youth, as they had told Doddridge in his childhood's home across the sea, of Bible scenes and Bible characters. Bright mirrors doubtless adorned the walls. The straight-backed chairs, with here and there a stool or cushioned bench for weaker backs to rest against, were grouped around the room, or half concealed in the heavy drapings of the deep-set windows. Mantels with treasures of old English pottery that would make a modern collector of "blue and white" wild with covetousness; wainscoating of the native woods; cornices carved in curious shapes, and the old family timepiece, all made up the surroundings among which the little William White grew up at his mother's knee. In such a home prayers—"the prayers of our mother the Church of England"—must have opened and closed the day. The Bible was the Book of books. The Common Prayer was deemed the Bible's best interpreter. The Catechism was a text-book here, and the "Whole Duty of Man" had its honored place, without doubt, on the shelf where the home and heart books were stored. To this home the old and new friends of its honored head came from time to time to make their formal calls, or else to spend some days beneath a roof and around a board noted for good cheer and abundant hospitality. Among these visitors was, as we have seen, the Maryland governor, Samuel Ogle, who always lodged with Colonel White on his visits to the Quaker capital. Here the rising and already renowned printer and philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, would drop in to talk over the founding of the College and Academy, or descant upon the politics of the day. Here the good rector, Dr. Jenney, now "well stricken in years", would come to make his pastoral visits, and when he had passed away his successor, the celebrated Dr. Richard Peters, would not fail to happen in, both as a pastor and as a personal friend. It was amidst such men and among such surroundings that the child was nurtured. It was by the family hearthstone, in the loved home-circle, that he received those sweet and salutary impressions which made his after years conspicuous for their serenity and holiness. We of this day and generation, mindful of the holy influences of a Christian home, and the moulding power of the heart-loves of parents and children, may well and wisely thank God for the Christian nurturing of William White in his earliest years of growth in grace and in favor with God and man.

The year following the birth of William White, another child was added to the family. Mary, youngest child of Thomas and Esther (Hewlings) White was born on the 13th day of April, 1749, and on the 21st of May was baptised in Christ Church. Of her maidenhood, as we learn from a sketch by Charles Henry Hart, no incidents even traditional are extant save the reference to her youthful beauty found in the opening stanza of Colonel Shippen's *Lines Written In An Assembly Room*, in which the writer says:

In lovely White's most pleasing form,  
What various graces meet!  
How blest with every striking charm,  
How languishingly sweet!

Sharing, as she did, the influences of the Christian home in which her brother was nurtured in the fear and love of the Lord, she added to personal holiness the womanly accomplishments and virtues fitting her for the station in life which, as the wife of the celebrated Robert Morris, the financier of the American Revolution, she was destined to fill with ease, dignity, and grace. The children, so nearly of the same age, grew up together, sharing each other's childish joys and sorrows, and finding in their happy home the preparation for the life that was to open to each respectively in after years.

An interesting reminiscence of the early life of the future Bishop is preserved by Dr. Bird Wilson in his *Memoir*, published in 1839. The story was told to him by Hannah Paschall, afterwards Mrs. Levi Hollingsworth, and connected by marriage with the narrator's family. Hannah Paschall, who was about a year and a half older than William White, resided in the house on Market Street adjoining Colonel White's, and was the intimate playmate of the children of the White family. She bore ample testimony of the purity and piety of the Bishop's boyhood, and was wont to say, in her review of the past, when she had reached advanced years: "Billy White was born a Bishop. I never could persuade him to play anything but Church. He would tie his own or my apron round his neck for a gown, and stand behind a low chair, which he called his pulpit; I, seated before him on a little bench, was the congregation; and he always preached to me about being good." "One day," she proceeded to relate, "I heard him crying, and saw him running into the street, and the nursemaid after him, calling him to come back and be dressed. He refused, saying, 'I do not want to go to dancing-school, and I won't be dressed, for I don't think it is good to learn to dance.' And that was the only time I ever knew Billy White to be a naughty boy." Relating, later in life, this incident

to the Bishop, he recalled the circumstance, and that his aversion to learning to dance induced his mother to give up the attempt, "though", he added, "I am by no means opposed to others learning, if they like to dance."

## II. EDUCATION

At the age of seven William White was removed from the dame-school, where he had acquired the rudiments of knowledge, to the English department of the newly organised College and Academy of Philadelphia. It was in a building not without interesting associations that the young student entered upon his preparation for his life-work. Originally erected to accomodate the crowds drawn by the wondrous eloquence of the celebrated George Whitefield, and intended, as Dr. Franklin, one of the trustees, tells us, "expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people of Philadelphia," it was styled the "New Building," and was built on Fourth Street, below Arch. So broad was its purpose, that Franklin proceeds to tell us "that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service." Whitefield officiated in this edifice in November, 1740, sixteen times ere the roof was on. In 1745 and 1746 he again preached there, and probably his last public utterances in Philadelphia were given in this place. The great preacher, who was one of the original trustees, did not understand the purpose had in view of providing this "tabernacle" in as liberal a sense as Franklin did. He wrote, in 1740, "The house is intended for public worship and a charity school. None but orthodox experimental ministers are to preach in it, and such are to have free liberty, of whatever denomination." The school was not at once undertaken, but in 1749 and 1750, through the influence of Franklin, who had written and circulated *Proposals Relating To The Education Of Youth In Pennsylvania*, £5,000 were subscribed for its support. In 1751, the "New Building" was occupied in accordance with the original purpose. The lofty hall, said by Franklin to have been of the dimensions of Westminster Hall in London, was divided into stories, with rooms above and below for the school. Two years later, in July, 1753, the trustees were incorporated under the name of "The Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia." The next year the title of this corporation was changed, and its scope was altered and enlarged. The institution was now known as "The College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia." Mr. William Smith, a recent graduate of the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, who had arrived in America in 1753,

was chosen as the head of the college, it being stipulated that he should go to England for Holy Orders. Having been ordained deacon and priest, he returned in May, 1754, taking the chair of Moral and Natural Philosophy, and giving professorial instruction to the senior and junior classes. It was in this year, marking the entrance of the able and distinguished Smith upon his presidential career, in which he not only brought the new institution committed to his care to the highest reputation and efficiency, but also laid the foundation of the present college system obtaining in the United States, that the young White began his attendance upon the English school of the college,— his father having been a trustee from the very inception of the institution. The master of the school was Ebenezer Kinnersley, M. A., “a man of remarkable attainments,” as Dr. Stillé well styles him, whose name often appears in connection with the experiments in electricity made by Franklin and himself, and who is supposed by many to have been entitled to a higher credit for these discoveries than his associate. In a prospectus of the college, published by Dr. Smith in 1758, Kinnersley is thus spoken of:

“He is well qualified for his profession, and has moreover great merit with the learned world in being the chief inventor of the electrical apparatus, as well as author of a considerable part of those discoveries in electricity, published by Mr. Franklin, to whom he communicated them.”<sup>10</sup>

At the age of ten, William White entered the Latin school of the college, at that time under the charge of Paul Jackson, “a man considered as possessed of a fine genius and of classical attainments.” It was about this time, at the beginning of the year 1757, that a number of the students performed on the large stage erected in the college hall the “Masque of Alfred,” as an oratorical exercise before the Earl of Loudon and the governors of the several colonies assembled in Philadelphia. This performance, which met with “just applause,” as we are told, was suggested by the similarity of the condition and distress of England under the Danish invasion and that of the colonies then exposed to the ravages and incursions of the Indians. It is not difficult to imagine the impressions made upon the young scholar by this display of oratory so suited to the time of its delivery. An intense love of country, and a willing devotion of all of his powers to the service of his native land, characterised the life of William White.

Paul Jackson left the Latin school shortly after White's entrance, and his successor, John Beveridge, M. A., was only “a thorough gram-

<sup>10</sup>*Life and Correspondence of Rev. William Smith, DD., I., p. 341.*



marian, with little else to recommend him.”<sup>11</sup> In his rearrangement of the classes he found in the school, he reduced the number, and in consequence the class of which White was a member was advanced to the one above it, passing directly from the study of the beginning of a book comparatively easy to boys of their standing to the latter part of a work of acknowledged difficulty.

The Bishop, in his autobiographical sketch, has this to say about such procedure :

“I record the incident for the purpose of censuring this and every similar expedient for the hastening of boys through grammar schools, which is frequent. At the age of thirteen, our class being examined for college by the Provost and the Vice-Provost, although three were rejected, I was not one of them. Among the many incidents recollected by me of the sound discretion of my father there is his putting of his prohibition on my then entering of college. It was humiliating at the time, although softened by the permission, obtained at his request, that I should be with the now Head Class in the Latin School, in one part of the day only ; the other part to be spent in the school in which arithmetic was taught, and in which usually one hour of the day only was spent by each class in its last year in the Latin school. Had it not been for this postponement, I should not have gone through college, as I trust I did, with reputation. There have since occurred frequent occasions of comparing the conduct of my father with that of others, much to their disadvantage. I was three years in college, my pupilage ending on my birthday in 1765,—which was the last day of examinations, although a month before the commencement.”

During his collegiate course, the provost and vice-provost were Dr. William Smith and Dr. Francis Allison ; but at the juncture of his entering college, the former embarked for England, “on his well-conducted and successful mission of collecting for it.” His place was supplied, during two years, by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Ewing ; but the provost returned at the beginning of the third year. Of Dr. Smith and Dr. Ewing, the following remark occurs in the autobiography written for Bishop Hobart :

“As the talents of these reverend gentlemen are well known by subsequent occurrences, and as they were living for several years after your arrival at the age of manhood, they have no need of anything from my pen, to inform you of their characters.”

<sup>11</sup>*Bishop White's MS. Autobiography.*



Of Dr. Allison, he says :

“The vice-provost being long since deceased, and there being few remaining who were personally acquainted with his merits, I avail myself of the opportunity of expressing the opinion, that in addition to his unquestionable ability in his department, he was a man of sterling integrity, of real and rational piety in the Presbyterian communion, of which he was a minister, and singularly liberal-minded. His only visible fault was a proneness to anger, which, however, was always accompanied by generosity and placability.”

One of the notes added to the autobiography, in 1830, relates to the Rev. Dr. Smith :

“It may seem to require to be accounted for, that neither here nor in the many places following, recording transactions in which the Rev. Dr. Smith bore a conspicuous part, there should be said so little concerning either his agency or his character. He was provost of the college when I entered the lowest school of its academy, at the age of seven, and when I left the seminary, at the age of seventeen. Besides other causes of frequent intercourse, I was connected with him as a trustee of the college, from the year 1774. I also united with him in the opposition made to the Act of Assembly of 1779,<sup>12</sup> and in his subsequent endeavors for the repeal of it; which but for his labors and perseverance, would probably never have been effected, notwithstanding the justice of the cause. His talents are in no need of my recommendation; and had they been devoted to literature, and not too much directed to politics, and to speculations in land, there is no knowing the measure of celebrity which might be thought too great to be attained to. Why, then, the reserve in the letter? It was owing to this. In the beginning of the organising of our Church, I thought it my duty to oppose myself to his being recommended by the General Convention to the episcopacy, to which he had been elected by the convention of Maryland; and to me his failure was principally owing. My reasons are not detailed, partly because there has been no reproach cast on me on that account, and partly because, in our frequent collisions, I ought not to claim the commendation of an impartial narrator. During his subsequent years, we were on very amicable terms; and he manifested his confidence in me by associating me with his brother, and with Jasper Yeates, Esq., in a trusteeship of certain lands, conveyed to us a deed in gift in favor of his younger daughter. In his will he bequeathed to me a ring.”

<sup>12</sup>By this act of usurpation the estate, endowments, and corporate powers of the trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia were taken from them, and vested in the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, a corporation created by the Assembly.

To one brought up as William White had been, the choice of the sacred ministry as his life-calling would seem only natural. We have, however, in his own words, a recital of the circumstances influencing his final determination to enter upon a course of preparation for Orders,—a step which must have been more or less in his mind from earliest years. This statement exhibits the reflecting mind, the calm and sound judgment, and clear sense of moral and religious obligation, which were noticeable through every period of his life.

“It may be recorded with truth, but let it be with humility, and with sorrow for innumerable failures, and for the having fallen far short of what was due to the advantages of early years, that there is not recollected any portion of my life, during which I was altogether regardless of the obligations of religion, or neglectful of the duty of prayer. But in about the middle of my sixteenth year, there occurred some circumstances, particularly the decease of an amiable young lady, of my own age, but in whom I had not felt any further interest than as an acquaintance of my sister. This event gave to my mind a tendency to religious exercises and inquiries; which were also promoted by its being understood that a visit was to be expected from the Rev. George Whitefield. His former visits had been principally before my birth; and the last of them had been when I was too young to have retained the recollection of his person. His coming, at this time, caused religion to be more than commonly a subject of conversation; and this added to the existing tendency of my mind. I heard him with great delight, in his wonderful elocution; although informed that it was greatly impaired by the state of his health, which evidently affected his throat, and had swelled his person, reported to have been naturally slender. Under this disadvantage his force of emphasis, and the melodies of his tones and cadences, exceeded what I have ever witnessed in any other person. It is a proof how much depends on the mechanical part of us, and on sympathy excited by occasional incidents, that although the preaching of Mr. Whitefield must have had the same general complexion, and been at least as well considered as in former years, there was nothing seen under it of those agitations which were still subjects of report.

“Whether it were owing to this cause, or to my being otherwise fortified, I found myself in no danger of being one of his converts. The first consideration which weakened his authority with me was a comparison of his obligations assumed at ordination with his utter disregard of them; a subject new to me when his case presented it. Subsequently to this period, when I considered the questions between the divines of the Church of England and those of the Puritan separation, although I disapproved of the scrupulousness of the latter, not without lamenting the unbending attitude of the former, the relaxing of

which would probably have broken the party, by detaching the honest from the factious, yet there appeared respectability in the plea of conscientious refusal. The impression has been often since revived, to the disadvantage of some who have intruded within our pale, without such a plea for their irregularity.

"That Mr. Whitefield had some expedient, reconciling his mind to his deviations, cannot reasonably be doubted. But in consideration of what he has said in print, of his having been carried away by impressions and feelings, it is not uncharitable to class his case among the many in which enthusiasm, consistently with general good intention, leads to results not consistent with moral obligation. Of the effect, in former times, of his violation of the order of the Church, there was evidence in the many families who were known to have been drawn from it by becoming followers of his ministry. Facts also were related, which had a tendency to caution against the delusions of sudden impressions and violent agitations; it being remembered of many, that they had been subject of such extravagances, without any lasting effect, either on their religious state or on their moral conduct; and of many others, that they had been similarly affected, and continued to be professors of religion, but of such a sort as not to induce in me an inclination to resemble them. These things did not hinder the observing of some persons, who had received their first impressions under the display of the extraordinary elocution of Mr. Whitefield. That this was the engine by which he wrought such wonders must be evident to all who have perused his printed sermons. Of his disinterestedness, and of his generous affections, there is here entertained no doubt.

"He made another visit to this country in the year 1770. When he was on his way from Philadelphia to Boston, late in the summer, he had been prevailed on to promise to cross from Bristol to Burlington, and to preach there. I happened to be in the latter, and staying in the house of a relative, when it was announced that Mr. Whitefield was at a tavern on the other side of the river. He was expected to be escorted by a relative. I went with him; and we returned in a boat with Mr. Whitefield and his company. He preached to the assembled citizens, in the front of the court house, and afterwards dined at the house of my relative. During dinner, he was almost the only speaker, as was said to be common; all present being disposed to listen. This narrative has been given for the introduction of one of his speeches; which may seem to show a great change from his early track of sentiment. The speech was: 'In Heaven I expect to see Charles the First, Oliver Cromwell, and Archbishop Laud, singing hallelujahs together.' Mr. Whitefield would not have said this in the days in which he inveighed against Archbishop Tillotson from the pulpit. It was but a few weeks after, and a few days before my embark-

ing for England, on the 15 of October, when tidings reached Philadelphia of the death of this celebrated man in Massachusetts."

In one of the notes appended to this statement the Bishops adds:

"It has been urged, in favor of the animal feelings excited by the preaching of Mr. Whitefield, and of other preachers of the same stamp, that however many the subsequent declensions, a portion of the converts are reclaimed from sin, and continued faithful. The question of the expediency of any specified means of conversion should rest, not on this ground, but on Scripture, in alliance with the dictates of reason and prudence. But the fact being presumed, before admission of the inference there should be a probable estimate of the number of persons who are brought to a religious state and a suitable life, by a preaching not attended by the extravagances referred to, and whom the other would rather repel; and further, how many, after having been captivated by this, and after having traced it to its causes in sympathy and animal organisation, resolve all religious feeling into delusion, and live and die impenitent. So far as my personal observation extends, what are sometimes called revivals would suffer much by the comparison.

In a letter—one of the few of this period of the writer's life still preserved—addressed to Benedict Edward Hall, of Shandy Hall, Maryland, on the 9th of December, 1765, the young student thus writes:

"I can tell you no News. For I seldom stir out of Doores, and you know our House is at some Distance from the Hurry of Business. The Stamp Act furnishes Conversation for most People, but what the various Opinions of our Politicians are I cannot tell you, as my studies tend another Way. The Stay of the Young Ladies in Philad<sup>a</sup> often took me from my Business in Order to wait upon them. So that I have been obliged, since their Departure, to confine myself the more in Order to Retrieve my lost Time."

He had been graduated, in the May preceding, from the College of Philadelphia, in a class of students numbering seven, three of whom, John Andrews, James Sayre, and himself, received Holy Orders. Andrews, a Marylander by birth, was two years older than White. He took his M. A. in 1767, at which time White proceeded to the same degree. Receiving the Doctorate in 1785, from Washington College, Maryland, he became successively Principal of the Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia in 1785, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Vice-Provost in the University in 1789, Provost in



1810, and died in 1813. James Sayre, who was three years older than White, proceeded M. A. in 1770, taking an *ad eundem* from King's, New York, in 1774. During the war he was chaplain of the first battalion of De Lancey's brigade of Loyalists. Entering upon parochial work at Fairfield, Connecticut, he took strong ground against the adoption of the American Prayer Book of 1789, and finally withdrew from the Church, dying at Fairfield in 1798. The other members of the class of 1765 were Alexander Alexander, who filled the position of tutor for the years 1764-66; Benjamin Alison, who took his M. A., in 1767, and proceeded B. M. in 1771; Thomas Dungan, who also took his Master's degree in 1767, and after serving as tutor from 1764 to 1766, was elected Professor of Mathematics, which post he held from 1766 to 1769; and John Patterson, who took his M. A. with the rest of the class save Alexander, in 1767.

The year in which White was graduated was, as we are reminded by the reference to the subject in his letter to his friend Hall, that in which the passage of the Stamp Act had served to awaken an intensity of feeling and call forth a spirit of resistance that gave presages of the struggle between the crown and the colonies soon to follow. Cautious as White evidently was, even in his youth, we may infer from subsequent actions that he shared the sentiments of the great body of his countrymen. The provost of the college, the celebrated Dr. William Smith, writing a few days later than the date of White's letter to which we have referred, thus expressed the views of Americans of every rank or position:

"With regard to the Stamp Act, or any act of Parliament to take money out of our pockets, otherwise than by our own representatives in our Colony Legislatures, it will ever be looked upon so contrary to the faith of charters and the inherent rights of Englishmen, that amongst a people planted, and nursed, and educated in the high principles of liberty, it must be considered as a badge of disgrace, impeaching their loyalty, nay, their very brotherhood and affinity to Englishmen, and although a superior force may, and perhaps can, execute this among us, yet it will be with such an alienation of the affections of a loyal people, and such a stagnation of English consumption among them, that the experiment can never be worth the risque."<sup>13</sup>

As to the views of the older members of the White family there is no doubt. Colonel White, in writing to his London correspondents, Messrs. David Barclay and Sons, on the 11th of November, 1765, after acknowledging the receipt of the portraits of his father and mother

<sup>13</sup>*Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D., Vol. I., p. 385.*



by Sir Godfrey Kneller, sent from Twickenham, England, by his sisters, thus proceeds :

"Please to send me a good Pinchback Watch with a green Shagreen case. . . . But not if the Stamp Act be un-repealed."<sup>14</sup>

It is evident, however, that the mind of William White was occupied with other than political themes. He had made choice of his life-work, and with the intensity of purpose which was characteristic of him in all that he undertook, his studies tended "another way", and he was striving to "retrieve lost time."

The facilities afforded at this time in the colonies for the study of divinity were but scanty. In the words of Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania :

"There were then no schools of the Prophets wherein the candidates for the ministry could prepare themselves for their sacred office. The desultory teaching of private and irresponsible ministers was all that could be obtained after the pupil had taken his college degree. Nor at that day did there exist that apparatus for prosecuting ecclesiastical, exegetical, theological, or homiletical studies, which is found now in the humblest of our seminaries. Lexicons were few, cumbrous, and imperfect. Ecclesiastical history was diffused through tall folios. Theology was looked up in heavy tomes under heavy verbiage. Exegesis had then but begun its now wondrous career, and though many great authors and standard works in the whole circle of clerical education, as then pursued, had appeared, yet only a few of these books came across the Atlantic, or were found on the shelves of the pastor's slender library."<sup>15</sup>

Everything that there was in a book-loving and book-possessing place was at the service of the young divinity student. The Rector of the United Churches of Christ Church and S. Peter was the Rev. Richard Peters, D. D., whose life, as we shall see, had been a compound of clerical and secular experiences, and the assistant minister of the two parishes was the Rev. Jacob Duché, whose name stands first on the list of graduates of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. As the only means of instruction and guidance in the proper course of study within the reach of candidates for Orders were furnished by the kind offices

<sup>14</sup>*Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Colonel Thomas White*, p. 82.

<sup>15</sup>*Then and Now. A Discourse . . . on the Centennial Anniversary of the Ordination to the Diaconate of William White. By William Bacon Stevens, Philadelphia, 1871, pp. 9, 10.*

of the Clergy, it will be of interest to note the statements of William White himself with reference to his teachers :

“Even before my graduation, and especially after it, the expectation of my being for the ministry had drawn to me the kind attentions of the clergy, particularly of Dr. Peters and Mr. Duché, the rector and one of the assistant ministers of Christ Church and St. Peter’s, to the former of which our family belonged. Although I shall always remember those two gentlemen with respect and affection, on account of their merits and of their kindness to me, yet there was in each of them a singularity of religious character which lessened the profit of an intercourse with them.

“Dr. Peters was a native of England, and had come to this country nearly forty years before the time now spoken of. He was then a young clergyman, of a respectable family of Liverpool, of an excellent education, and of polished manners. It was said that his acquaintance had been cultivated by the genteel families in the city ; but that, being no favorite with the then rector of Christ Church, the Rev. Archibald Cummings, he accepted from the proprietary government the secretaryship of the land-office, which laid the foundation of a considerable fortune. He was also secretary to a succession of governors ; and continued to be of the governor’s council until his decease. At an age turned of sixty, he gave up his lucrative offices, and became more serious in religious concerns than at any former period of his life, although his morals had been correct, his attendance on public worship constant and solemn, and his preaching occasional. Soon after, the rectorship of the church becoming vacant by the decease of the Rev. Dr. Jenney, the successor of Mr. Cummins, Mr. Peters<sup>16</sup> was chosen to it.

“The singularity alluded to was his adopting of the notions of Jakob Boehme and William Law ; in consequence of which his sermons were not always understood. In social discourse he could be exceedingly entertaining on any ordinary and on any literary subject, especially if it regarded classical or historical learning. Yet, from the moment of turning the conversation to religion, he was in the clouds.

“Mr. Duché was of a respectable family in this city. He was in the first class of graduates of our college ; and having finished his studies in it with reputation, spent some time in the English University of Cambridge. A remarkably fine voice and graceful action helped to render him very popular as a preacher. His disposition also was amiable. The greatest infirmity attending him was a tendency to change in religious sentiment. A few years after his ministerial settlement he took to the mysticism of Jakob Boehme and William Law. From this he became detached for a time ; and his preaching,

<sup>16</sup>On the 6th of December, 1762. He received his degree of D.D. from the University of Oxford near the close of the year 1770.

which was more zealous than either before or after, seemed to me to border on Calvinism, although, probably, he was not aware of or designed it. In this interval my personal intercourse with him began; and having one day asked him the loan of Law's works, then much talked of, I received a refusal; the reason given being the danger he had formerly been in from the reading of these books. He relapsed, however, in the theory of the mystics, and continued in it until the troubles which drove him from his native country. In England he became a convert to the opinions of Baron Swedenborg; and in these he continued until his decease. There can be no impropriety in stating this property of the character of my deceased friend; it being known to many still living, and currently spoken of by them. In recollecting the pleasure taken in his conversation, I think myself singularly happy in not having been drawn by it from what then, and ever since, I have considered as correct views of our holy religion.

Besides the assistance rendered by Dr. Peters and Mr. Duché, the Bishop alludes to another aid in his preparation for Orders, from which he derived much benefit, in conjunction with four other young men designed for the ministry. This was a theological exercise, instituted at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Smith, the provost of the college, of which the Bishop gives this account:

"From the time of my graduation in May, 1765, to that of my going to England, October, 1770, I employed myself in attention to sacred and other literature, perhaps not without some profit. Yet that portion of my life is now looked back on as what might have been much more improved by literary cultivation, and thus have prevented the deficiencies which have been the unavoidable result of a multiplicity of concerns. This is the proper place of recording the benefit received in conjunction with four other youths designed for the ministry, by a species of theological exercise, instituted on the proposal of the Rev. Dr. Smith, the Provost of the College. During three successive seasons and within the space of a few months of each, on Sunday evenings, these exercises were performed in the hall of the old College, then not much less in size than either of our two churches, and in the audience of numerous and respectable assemblies. The groundwork of what we wrote and delivered was the history of the Bible. On each evening two of our company delivered their compositions, previously corrected by the provost, who afterwards enlarged on the subjects. Although this was far from being a complete course of ecclesiastical studies, it called to a variety of reading and to a concentration of what was read. There was also use in the introduction to public speaking. The young men with whom I was associated were Thomas Coombe, who will be spoken of

hereafter ; Thomas Hopkinson, brother of the late Judge Francis Hopkinson, and since settled as a clergyman and deceased in Maryland ; John Montgomery, deceased, who also settled in Maryland, but went to England during the Revolutionary War, and obtained a parish from the Bishop of Hereford ; and Joseph Hutchins,<sup>17</sup> whose long residence in this State, and late return to Barbadoes, his native country, are known to you."

Of his progress and attainments William White appears to have had a more modest opinion than the extent of his information, both in theology and general literature, as shown by his writings in after years, certainly justified.

We catch glimpses of the student's progress from entries in his mother's family expense-book, a fragment of which, for 1770, is preserved. Under date of the 12th of April, and again on the 11th day of May, of this year, we find the entry, "Let Billy have to pay the Hebrew master, £1." On May 2<sup>nd</sup>, of the same year, occurs the item, "Took out for Billy, to pay for a Book, £2."<sup>18</sup> It would be interesting to know the name of this addition to the student's library. It was doubtless some ponderous work in divinity,—possibly one of the treasures of the large theological collection which, in later years, filled the shelves of his study in his life-long home.

It was in these studies and occupations that the interval passed between graduation and the near approach of the time when William White was to seek in the mother-land admission to Holy Orders. The threshold of the life-calling was now reached, the decision had been made, the preparations were completed, and father, mother, sister, friends, and home itself were to be left behind in the quest of the valid commission to minister in the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ.

### III. ENGLAND AND ORDINATION

On Monday, October 15, 1770, William White, having completed his preliminary studies for Holy Orders, sailed from Chester in the ship *Britannia*, Nathaniel Falconer, master.

<sup>17</sup>Afterwards the Rev. Dr. Hutchins. He subsequently returned to Philadelphia, where he died in the year 1833. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from the College of Philadelphia in 1767, at the time of White's proceeding to the same degree. In 1790, the University gave him the Doctorate. He was about eighteen months older than Dr. White. Their friendship began in the grammar school, and continued without interruption until his death.

In a letter to the Bishop of London by the Rev. Drs. Peters, Smith and Mr. Duche, dated April 22, 1768, concerning Messrs. Montgomery and Coombe, it is stated: ". . . both the Gentlemen and three others nearly of their age have for two winters past attended Divinity Lectures under Dr. Smith, and have acquitted themselves so well in delivering their Sunday Evening Exercises that seldom fewer than a thousand persons have attended to hear them. They are well versed in Composition and are excellent Speakers, Mr. Coombe in particular being admired for his Talent in this way . . ."

<sup>18</sup>Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Colonel Thomas White, p. 154.



Among the letters the young candidate for the ministry took with him was one from Joseph Galloway, addressed "To Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, Deputy Post Master of North America, in Craven Street, London, Favour Mr. White".<sup>19</sup> It was as follows:

Philadelphia, October 10, 1770.

Dear Sir,—This will be delivered to you by Mr. William White, for whose Parents, as well as himself, I have a particular Regard. His Errand to London is with the Design to finish his studies in Divinity, and to obtain Orders in the Church. If great Goodness and Rectitude of Heart, improved by a virtuous and liberal Education, and free from the Vices and Licentiousness too frequently the attendants on unguarded Youth, render a young Gentleman fit for the great and important duties of Religion, I have good Reason to believe the Object of this Letter will not prove an inferior Ornament to the Sacred Profession. Under this Opinion of him, permit me to recommend him to your Advice, Assistance, and Friendship. I will not offer an Apology on this Occasion as I well know the Pleasure you receive in lending your Aid to Mankind in General, but to youth in particular, in their laudable Pursuits, will more than compensate for any pains you may be at in performing the benevolent office.

I am, with much esteem,

Your most obed. hum<sup>ble</sup> Servant,

Jos. Galloway.

William White needed no introduction to Benjamin Franklin. When in his eighteenth year, and while prosecuting his studies for Orders, White, together with Franklin and Francis Hopkinson, had assisted Miss Betty Shewell to elope from her brother's house in Philadelphia in order to marry the rising young painter Benjamin West, who was then in England. Miss Shewell, on escaping from her brother's illegal detention, proceeded to London under the care and protection of her future father-in-law. To the close of his life Bishop White defended his share in this elopement, saying, "If it were to do over again, I should act in precisely the same way; God meant them to come together." A graphic reminiscence of this incident of the Bishop's early life is given in a letter by Thomas F. Shewell, Esq., of Bristol, Pa., under date of February 17, 1837:

"About the year 1833, Bishop White made his last diocesan visit to the interior of the State, and being entertained at the house of Dr. Edward Swift, of Easton, was induced during

<sup>19</sup>Still preserved among the Franklin MSS. in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Published in "Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Col. Thomas White, etc.", p. 133.



the evening by Mrs. Betsey Swift to give the details of an occurrence happening so long before.

Mr. West was a native<sup>20</sup> of Delaware County, a gentleman of most genial manners, and very popular in society, both with the ladies and gentlemen; and at length the young merchants belonging to the wealthier families determined to raise a subscription of two thousand dollars to send Mr. West, who was poor, to Italy for two years' study and improvement. Before his departure, however, evidently some love-passages had occurred between the young people, for the merchant brother, Stephen Shewell, who was a very proud man, took violent prejudice against Mr. West, on his sister's account, calling him a 'pauper', an 'object of charity', etc.

West remained two years in Italy (1760-63), much to his advantage, and was returning through England toward his native country, when the King (George III), having seen some sketches showing a wonderful power of grouping, appointed him his painter. After some time, Mr. West wrote to Miss Shewell that it would be impossible for him to return to Philadelphia, but a certain brig was about coming to London, bringing his father to pay him a visit, and if she would accompany him with her maid they would be married as soon as she arrived in London.

"As soon as Mr. Shewell learned of this arrangement he became violently angry, declared that no pauper should marry his sister, and finally locked her up in her room until the vessel should have departed.

"As soon as this state of things became known to those friends of West who had aided him to go to Italy, they determined, in the Bishop's words, that 'Ben should have his wife', sending to Miss Shewell, by her maid, concealed under her dress, a rope-ladder, with a note, saying that they would cause the vessel to drop down to Chester, sixteen miles, to obviate suspicion, and that on a given evening they would have a carriage round the corner at eleven o'clock at night, and if she would use the ladder to reach the ground they would safely convey her to Chester and put her on board the vessel.

"The plan was entirely successful. The lady entered the carriage with two of the gentlemen, while one rode outside with the driver. The roads were abominably bad, and the eloping company only reached the vessel at daybreak, and the weary night came to an end. The party safely crossed the ocean, and a long and happy life awaited the married pair.

"During the whole course of the story, the venerable Bishop spoke with great animation, and seemed to relish the adventure, saying, 'Ben deserved a good wife, and old as I am I am ready to do it again to serve such worthy people.'

"I believe that you are aware that the party consisted of

<sup>20</sup>Born October 10, 1738, at Springfield, Pa., of an old Quaker family. Died in England, 1820.

Benjamin Franklin, then about fifty-six years old; Francis Hopkinson, author of 'The Battle of the Kegs' (a humorous ditty of Revolutionary times); and Bishop White. Mr. West became President of the Royal Society (1792), and was noted for his genial character. Both Mr. and Mrs. West were most intimate with the King and Queen, with whom both were great favorites. Mrs. West was the aunt of Mrs. Hunt, the mother of Leigh Hunt, both having been Miss Shewells. My father, the late Thomas Shewell, was in London from 1796 to 1799, and frequently called upon Mrs. West, also attending Mr. West's famous Sunday dinners. One day a tall flunky brought in a plate carefully covered with a napkin, when Mrs. West remarked to my father, 'You must not laugh, Cousin Tommy, at my attempt to raise some Indian corn in a hot-house. I only succeeded in growing cobs, but I have had them boiled so as to get the perfume.'

Besides the letter to Dr. Franklin, White and his fellow-traveller Thomas Hopkinson,<sup>21</sup> who had shared with him the instructions in divinity given by the Philadelphia clergy, bore the following testimonial to the Bishop of London:

Phil<sup>a</sup> September 24<sup>th</sup> 1770.

May It Please Your Lordship,

We return our sincere Thanks for the kind regard your Lordship has always shown towards Persons recommended to you for Holy Orders. We hope we shall never write in favor of any but such as upon a thorough examination will be found to be well qualified. It is upon this principle that we now beg Leave to introduce to your Lordship, Mr. William White and Mr. Thomas Hopkinson, two young Gentlemen who have gone through our College with Diligence and Applause, and in consequence have obtained the Degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts. From their earliest years they have been under Religious Impressions. These have directed their studies, and we hope, as they have heretofore preserved unblemished characters, they will, when admitted to the Profession they have so anxiously desired, prove useful to Religion and be ornaments of the Church of England, with whose Doctrine and Discipline they are well acquainted, and of which we trust they will be good Servants.

Your Lordship may remember that the names of these two young gentlemen were among those whom Dr. Smith men-

<sup>21</sup>Thomas Hopkinson was graduated the year following that in which White took his A.B. He is alluded to by Dr. Smith in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the S.P.G. as "distantly related to the Bishop of Worcester," and spoken of as "a very valuable young man and only unhappy in his hesitation and manner of speech." (*Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, I., p. 462.) Mr. Hopkinson returned to this country, and died in Charles County, Maryland, in 1784.

tioned to you some time since as then preparing themselves for the Ministry. As they are not yet of sufficient age for Priests' Orders, they are desirous of obtaining Deacon's Orders, as soon as your Lordship may think convenient; and we do assure your Lordship that they cannot fail from their connections, and the Esteem they have justly acquired, of being provided for immediately upon their return to America in full Orders. . .

We are, etc.

Richard Peters,  
William Smith,  
Jacob Duché.<sup>22</sup>

As the aspirant for ordination lacked several months of the canonical age, he obtained a "faculty", or dispensation, from the Archbishop of Canterbury granting ordination *infra aetatem* as a special favor. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Terrick was then the Bishop of London and Diocesan of all the Episcopal churches in America. After being examined by the Bishop's chaplain, who told a friend of the family "that his examination would have been an honor to either of the universities", meaning Oxford and Cambridge, Mr. White was ordained a Deacon, under letters dismissory from the Bishop of London, by Dr. Philip Yonge, Bishop of Norwich, at the Ember season, on Sunday, December 23, 1770, and in the Chapel Royal of S. James' Palace, Westminster, of which the Bishop of London was dean.

The young ordinand remained in England about a year and a half, until he reached the age requisite for Priest's Orders. This interval was spent with his aunts, Mrs. Weeks and Mrs. White, another sister of his father having died shortly before his arrival in England. The time spent with these beloved relatives in "that earthly paradise", as he styles Twickenham, and the impressions made upon him by the circle of friends he met in their charming home were never forgotten. It was his only lengthened absence from his beloved Philadelphia. The incidents of his stay in England are best learned from his own words as given in his autobiographical sketch to Bishop Hobart.

"My father had kept up an affectionate correspondence with his family in England; and it is necessary to an account of myself, to give a few facts relative to them. His three sisters, after losing their mother, and two of them having lost their husbands, the eldest having never been married, lived chiefly on jointures, and on annuities purchased by their profits in business, at Twickenham, in a genteel competency. The

<sup>22</sup>From the original draft in the manuscript of Dr. Peters in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, quoted in the "Life and Correspondence of William Smith," I., pp. 458, 489.

greater part of what they had in their power to leave became mine, and amounted to about three thousand pounds sterling. One of the sisters, Mrs. Midwinter, died within a year of my going to England. I was received by the survivors, Miss White and Mrs. Weeks, as a son. They were excellent women, which was also the character of their deceased sister. The eldest, in particular, has been ever since considered by me as one of the finest women I ever knew. With an excellent understanding, exemplary piety, and great dignity of manners, she possessed the vivacity of youth at above the age of seventy.

"In consequence of my father's recollections of his boyhood, and in order to make me cautious on political subjects, he apprised me that I might probably find his sisters of the description of people who were friends of the family and of the claim of the Stuarts. For although he had been put to a grammar school in S. Alban's, eighteen miles from London, he remembered sundry incidents to the above purpose. Among them was his mother's taking of him to Newgate, to visit a clergyman confined there as dangerous to the government. He was a Mr. Howell,<sup>23</sup> the author of a *History of the Bible*, formerly a book in vogue, but now superseded by the later work of Stackhouse.

"After a while, familiarity banished reserve on the subject of politics, when I learned from these ladies that they had been educated in the principles of Jacobitism, but had long given up the cause as desperate; the readier on account of their respect for the personal character of the present King. I did not fail to acknowledge to them, that both their brother and his son, although neither of them had ever entered zealously into political party, were attached to the principles of the British Constitution as confirmed, not introduced, by the revolution of 1688.

"During my stay in England, I was treated by my aunts with truly parental affection. I had lodgings in town, but spent a considerable proportion of my time with them in Twickenham, where I took pleasure, not only in the society of an agreeable circle of friends, to which I was admitted in that earthly paradise, but in rambles in the neighborhood, and in beholding what the old vicar of the place, the Rev. George Costard, who pointed them out to me in our walks, called classic grounds. He was a very learned man, and had been a celebrated instructor when fellow of Wadham College, in Oxford. In the library of this city there is a small tract of his on some points in astronomy.

"While in England I made several journeys to different

<sup>23</sup>The Rev. Lawrence Howel, who was ordained by the nonjuring Bishop Kicke, in 1712, was imprisoned, in 1717, for writing a pamphlet entitled, "*The Case of the Schism in the Church of England Truly Stated*," London, 1715, 8vo, and died in Newgate in 1720. The tract for which he suffered confinement was issued anonymously. The work referred to by the Bishop was "*A Complete History of the Bible*," in three volumes, octavo, and was not published until after the author's death. Vide Allibone's "*Dictionary of Authors*."



parts of it. The longest of them was a range of about six hundred miles, with a friend from my very early years, Mr. John Benezet, the most distant counties of our tour being Lancashire, as far as Liverpool, and Derbyshire, where we visited what are called its wonders, which are described in books. Not far from them are Shenstone's famous Leasowes, and Lord Lyttleton's as famous Hagley Park; both of which we saw with very great delight. We also visited, near Manchester, the Duke of Bridgewater's coal pits, with his wonderful bridge over the river Irwell; and, on our return to London, the Duke of Devonshire's magnificent seat of Chatsworth.

"The most interesting of my excursions was to Oxford and to Bath, in May, 1771. In each of them my stay was between two and three weeks. In the preceding holidays of Christmas I had become acquainted with a Rev. Mr. (since Dr.) Burroughs, a fellow of Magdalen College; and with a Mr. Robearts Carr, a student of Worcester College, of about my own age, and designed for the ministry, into which he entered before my leaving of England. With his elder brother, the Rev. Colston Carr, I had previously become acquainted; there having been an hereditary friendship between the families. He is still living, and is the father of Sir Henry Carr, who distinguished himself in Spain, under General Moore, and was since married to the widow of the murdered prime minister, Mr. Percival. The Rev. Colston Carr was vicar of Feltham, near to Twickenham; and was presented, some years after, by Bishop Terrick, who had been a friend of his deceased father, to the parish of Fling. His younger brother and the said Mr. Burroughs were of great service to me in Oxford. The former lodged me in his college, that of Worcester, in the chambers of a friend then absent. It would be superfluous to give you an account of this wonderful collection of colleges, of which the most minute particulars are in books. But let it be mentioned, that besides the sight of all the objects of curiosity, not only in Oxford but in the most magnificent seats in the neighborhood, the most splendid of which are Blenheim, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough, and Stowe, that of Earl Temple, it is a source of ever present gratification to have had a sight of characters, of whom some were then and others have become since illustrious. From the said Mr. Costard I carried a letter to Dr. Kennicot, a canon of Christ Church College, who was then making progress in his great work, since given to the world. He was very polite to me, and presented to me a copy of his Collections, as far as they were then made. One evening, on the then favorite walk of Merton College, there was pointed out to me, as a rising character, a Dr. Moore, then also a canon of Christ Church; and this was the gentleman who, about fifteen years afterward, consecrated me a Bishop.

"The morning after my arrival in Oxford, Mr. Robearts Carr took me to the house of the Rev. Mr. Swinton, the keeper

of the archives of the university, to whom I carried a letter from Mr. Costard. We were told by a servant that Mr. Swinton had gone to S. Mary's, the university church, to a visitation. My friend confessed that he had forgotten the occasion, and proposed our going to hear the Bishop's charge. He was the celebrated Dr. Lowth. We entered the church soon after he had begun, and was proceeding to a commendation of the character of Archbishop Secker, who had died since the last charge, and who had preceded the speaker in his Diocese. In the following winter I was present at the same Bishop's anniversary sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel. And fifteen years afterward I visited him under the decay of his great powers; he being then Bishop of London.

"Dining on a Sunday in Worcester College, I was asked by a young clergyman who sat near me, a Mr. Walker, whether I took pleasure in sacred music. On being answered in the affirmative, he proposed our going to the chapel of Magdalen College. We went, after dinner, and the music was as delightful as can be imagined. My attention being attracted to a divine, who, from his dress and from his stall, appeared to be the principal person in the chapel, I inquired his name, and was told that he was Dr. Horne, the president of the college. This was the excellent man, since Bishop of Norwich, and well-known from his writings.<sup>24</sup> He was handsome, and of a good presence.

"On the other Sunday of my stay, I dined with the Fellows of the same college on the invitation of the above named Mr. Burroughs. One of the Fellows had come from a distant parish, held with his fellowship, to take his turn of preaching at S. Mary's. After dinner, the beadle of the university came, with the ensigns of his office, to precede the preacher to church. The subject of the discourse was, the harmony of the Evangelists in the event of our Lord's resurrection. It was highly commended, and the vice-chancellor was reported to have expressed a wish for its publication. The preacher was a Mr. Townson; and as a divine of this name has since published a much esteemed book on the subject, I take it to be an enlargement of what I heard in outline, and within the compass of a sermon.<sup>25</sup>

"In the morning of the same day, and in the same church,

<sup>24</sup>"*Bishop Horne has recorded, in one of his publications, that the highest seat to which he aspired in heaven was to sit at the feet of Dr. Launcelot Andrews, the celebrated Bishop in the days of Queen Elizabeth and James the First. Bishop Hobart, in one of his publications, referring to this saying of Bishop Horne, has remarked that it is difficult to decide in which of the seats each of the two Bishops might be the most fitly placed.*" (Note added in 1830.)

<sup>25</sup>"*Since my letter to Bishop Hobart, I found, in the shop of a seller of secondhand books, the work of Dr. Townson; and perceiving from one of the English periodicals that there had been published a posthumous volume of his discourses, I obtained it through the agency of a bookseller. It appears, from a memoir of Dr. Townson's life prefixed to the column, that the first discourse in the work before procured by me was the one which I had heard at S. Mary's, the place and the time of the first delivery of it being specified; and that the other*

I heard Dr. Thomas Randolph, since Dean of Canterbury, and the author of two volumes of works, published after his decease.

"One day the above named Mr. Walker invited me to the examination of two candidates for the degree of A. B., to be held in a building of great antiquity, called the public schools. The course taken on such an occasion was, that each of the candidates chose any three of the resident masters of arts to be his examiners. At present Mr. Walker was one of such three. The examination of each took about an hour. It was slight; although, except in Hebrew, not in such a ludicrous degree as is described by Vicesimus Knox in one of his essays. On seeing this essay, some years after, I could not but testify that there was ground for the representation; until there came out *A Scale or Chart of Truth*, by Dr. Tatham, the head of one of the colleges, being the compressed contents of eight sermons preached by him at the Bampton lecture. He treats Dr. Knox with great contempt; and accuses him of giving to the world what is substantially false, because a part only of the truth. Dr. Tatham states that the exercises in the public schools are kept up only *pro forma*, being accommodated to the obsolete philosophy of Aristotle, but not a test of the real education conducted in the different colleges. Dr. Tatham wishes that the university system were restored, with accommodation to the improved state of philosophy; but he contends, that to describe what is done in the university schools, as a test of what is taught to the youth and required of them in the colleges, is deceptive. I have not met a contradiction of Dr. Tatham's statements. Under this view of the subject, I suppose that the Hebraic questions referred to were in compliance with ancient requisition, under the change of times; when the knowledge of the language was no longer thought necessary for a degree in the arts. The questions were, to one of the candidates, What is the English of 'gabbatha'? and to the other, What is the Hebrew of 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'

"I was present at the convocation, when Dr. Nowell, the public orator of the university, presented several young gentlemen for honorary degrees. Although he made a Latin address, highly commending them, my friends informed me that the course now taken for that kind of degree was often adopted by young men of family who could not have obtained it in any other way. This seems to strengthen Dr. Tatham's account of the matter. The convocation consists of the vice-chancellor, who presides; the two proctors for the year, who are a sort of sheriffs under him; and all who have attained the degree of master of arts.

*discourses are enlargements of it. They are first-rate performances, and worthy of the attention of students of theology. It appears from the memoir that the sermon in the university was printed at the desire of the learned audience."* (Note added in 1830.)

"Having mentioned some literary characters who became personally known to me in the university, I will not omit, although extraneous to it, that giant of genius and literature, Dr. Samuel Johnson. My introduction to him was a letter from the Rev. Jonathan Odell, formerly missionary at Burlington. The doctor was very civil to me. I visited him occasionally; and I know some who would be tempted to envy me the felicity of having found him, one morning, in the act of preparing his dictionary for a new edition. His harshness of manners never displayed itself to me, except in one instance, when he told me that had he been prime minister during the then recent controversy concerning the Stamp Act, he would have sent a ship of war and levelled one of our principal cities with the ground. On the other hand, I have heard from him sentiments expressive of a feeling heart, and convincing me that he would not have done as he said. Having dined in company with him, in Kensington, at the home of Mr. Elphinstone, well known to scholars of that day, and returning in the stage-coach with the doctor, I mentioned to him there being a Philadelphia edition of his *Prince of Abyssinia*. He expressed a wish to see it. I promised to send him a copy on my return to Philadelphia, and did so. He returned a polite answer, which is printed in Mr. Boswell's second edition of his *Life* of the doctor. Mr. (since the Rev. Dr.) Abercrombie's admiration of Dr. Johnson had led to a correspondence with Mr. Boswell, to whom, with my consent, the letter was sent.<sup>26</sup>

"This reminds me of another literary character, a friend of Johnson, Dr. Goldsmith. We lodged some time near to one another, in Brick Court of the Temple. I had it intimated to him by an acquaintance of both, that I wished for the pleasure of making him a visit. It ensued; and in our conversation it took a turn which excited in me a painful sensation, from the circumstance that a man of such a genius should write for bread. His *Deserted Village* came under notice, and some remarks were made by us on the principle of it,—the decay of the peasantry. He said that were he to write a pamphlet on the subject, he could prove the point incontrovertibly. On his being asked why he did not set his mind to this, his answer was, "It is not worth my while. A good poem will bring me one hundred guineas; but the pamphlet would bring me nothing." This was a short time before my leaving of England, and I saw the doctor no more.

<sup>26</sup>"There was sent, not the letter, as I supposed, but a copy of it. The fact was not known to me until the following incident. Dining at the table of President Washington, and sitting near to Mr. Swanwick, then a member of Congress, this related anecdote having been given by me to a few gentlemen within hearing, Mr. Swanwick, hearing of the sending of the letter, corrected the error; and declaiming on the subject, expected to see the time when the letter would be worth two thousand guineas." (Note added in 1830.)



"In April,<sup>27</sup> 1772, I was ordained a priest by the Bishop of London (Dr. Terrick).

"This prelate not having given any work to the world, the only ground of his being supposed by me to possess talents is his having risen from humble life. He had a fine voice, and was an excellent reader of the service, being also said to be a good preacher. I heard much concerning him in Twickenham, and it was entirely in his favor. He had been vicar of that parish; and in my first interview with him, on my mention to him of the family in which I proposed to spend part of my time, I found he had been acquainted with them. I will relate an anecdote to his credit, learned in my subsequent visit to England. It is of a transaction which took place within a few hours of his death. He had long intended to provide for my friend, the Rev. Colston Carr, the son of a clergyman who had been his curate, and was esteemed by him. When the vicarage of Eling fell in his gift Mr. Carr was appointed to it. Matters were in preparation for a legal settlement, when the Bishop, who had been in a decline of health, was seized in such a manner that he perceived his end approaching. On this he charged a young nobleman, who had married one of his daughters, to relate the case to the lord chancellor, into whose gift the parish would fall, with the dying request that Mr. Carr might not be disappointed of his reasonable expectations. The request was complied with."

References to William White's life while in London are found in the manuscript "Journal of Peter Muhlenberg",<sup>28</sup> a candidate for Holy Orders. From this quaint record we learn that on April 15, 1772, Muhlenberg met Messrs. White and Bond at the Middle Temple, after having waited on the Lord Bishop of London with a view to being ordered Deacon. Three days afterward we find the following entry:

"Apr. 18. This being the day I was ordered to attend on the Lord Bishop of London, I went to the Middle Temple to the Rev. Mr. White, who had promised to accompany me. We took coach at Temple Bar to his Lordship's house, and were introduced to him. He told us that, in consideration there were three of us wanted priests' Orders, he would give us private ordination the Saturday after Easter. Mr. White was already ordained as deacon, therefore a gentleman from Virginia (John Braidfoot) and myself should receive deacons' Orders from the Bishop of Ely.

"April 25. This morning at ten the Rev. Mess. White

<sup>27</sup>On Saturday, April 25th, "being the Festival of S. Mark's." In *"A List of Persons Licensed to the Plantations by the Bishops of London From the Year 1745 Inclusive"*, occurs the following entry under "Pennsylvania": "William White, April 25, 1772." (Prot. Epis. Hist. Soc. Collections, I., p. 117.)

<sup>28</sup>Quoted in *"An Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Col. Thomas White, etc."*, pp. 155, 156.

and Braidfoot and myself took coach for the Lord Bishop's, dressed in gowns. We were introduced to his Lordship, who made a very serious and eloquent oration to us concerning the weighty matter we had before us, and then desired us to walk to the chapel. When we came there we found the Rev. Mr. Burgman, etc., there. After prayers were read the Bishop proceeded to ordination. When all was over, we returned to our lodgings, but were desired to attend in the chapel tomorrow.

"April 26. This morning Mr. White, Mr. Braidfoot, and myself went to the communion at S. James' Chapel."

Other notices of the pleasant intercourse between the young Americans just entering the same holy calling, and evidently drawn closely together, are found in this interesting journal. Calls were exchanged. Dinners at the Temple Coffee House are noticed, and on the 14th of May the Rev. Messrs. White, Braidfoot, and Muhlenberg, together with Mr. Phineas Bond and Mr. James Mease, fellow-passengers with White on his voyage to England, and other friends, went together to hear David Garrick. This was not Mr. White's first visit to the theatre where the celebrated Garrick was playing. In a letter addressed, under date of February 14, 1772, to a lifelong friend,—the distinguished James Wilson, afterwards a signer of the Declaration of Independence and one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States,—White thus records his impressions of this renowned tragedian:—

"The greatest phenomenon I have seen in England is Mr. Garrick. I thought it impossible for human powers to reach so far. The other day I saw him in Hamlet, which is one of his best characters. If a painter could draw him, following his father's ghost off the stage, it would make the best picture I ever saw; but I think it impossible to represent his attitude and the passions of his countenance exactly. No doubt you have often admired a passage in this play (Act II. Scene 6) which begins thus: 'I have of late, wherefore I know not, lost all my mirth,' etc. etc. Now figure to yourself the most graceful man you ever saw, with a better pronunciation than you ever heard, repeating that passage, and still your idea will be defective; for you cannot help thinking of him as an actor; but in Garrick there is nothing like an actor, except that he stands upon a stage. The closet interview with his mother was the most admired. Every spectator must have felt the horrors which Shakespeare intended to excite by it."<sup>29</sup>

Mr. White seems to have neglected no opportunity for improvement, especially in those matters pertaining to his sacred calling,

<sup>29</sup>"*A Memorial of the Rev. Bird Wilson, D.D., LL.D., by W. White Bronson, Philadelphia, 1864, pp. 33, 34.*

The record we add from one of his later publications illustrates the impression made upon him by a display of forensic eloquence he had the privilege of attending:<sup>30</sup>

In the year 1771, the present writer had the good fortune of hearing those two great men, the Lords Mansfield and Camden, in the British House of Peers, speaking in a legal cause then before the House in the capacity of a final court of appeal. The two Lords mentioned were on the same side of the question; for it was remarkable of them that they seldom agreed on political questions, and that they as seldom differed on the legal. The cause related to the succession to a title and an estate; and was well known under the name of the Anglesea cause. Their accidental hearer was of course incompetent to enter into the legal merits of it; and was even uninformed of the circumstances of the case. Accordingly, the only objects of his attention were the elocution of the respective speakers. One prominent property of the manner of Lord Mansfield was, it being so deliberate as that every word seemed to have been well weighed before the utterance of it; while yet there was not a degenerating into tediousness. On the other hand, Lord Camden had a volubility of manner which was not carried so far as to prevent his being intelligible. Had it been in the power of the hearer to have made the manner of either of these great men his own, he thinks he should have chosen Camden's; and yet, of the two, Mansfield has been the most celebrated as a speaker."

On July 22, 1772, the newly ordained priest sailed from London in the ship Pennsylvania Packet, Captain Osborne, and after a tedious passage reached Philadelphia on Sunday, September 13th.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup>"Commentaries Suited to Occasions of Ordination," p. 195.

<sup>31</sup>"The Pennsylvania Gazette" of September 23rd mentions among the passengers brought by Captain Osborne, "Dr. Farmer, his Lady and daughter, Rev. Mr. William White, Jacob Rush, Esq., Mr. David Sproat, Mr. John Benezet," et al.

## THE PRESBYTER

*By Walter Herbert Stowe*

**W**ILLIAM WHITE was ordered deacon by Dr. Philip Yonge, Bishop of Norwich, on Sunday, December 23, 1770, in the Chapel Royal of S. James' Palace, Westminster, London. In the same Chapel, on S. Mark's Day, April 25, 1772,<sup>1</sup> he was ordained priest by Dr. Richard Terrick, Bishop of London.

### I. EARLY MINISTRY

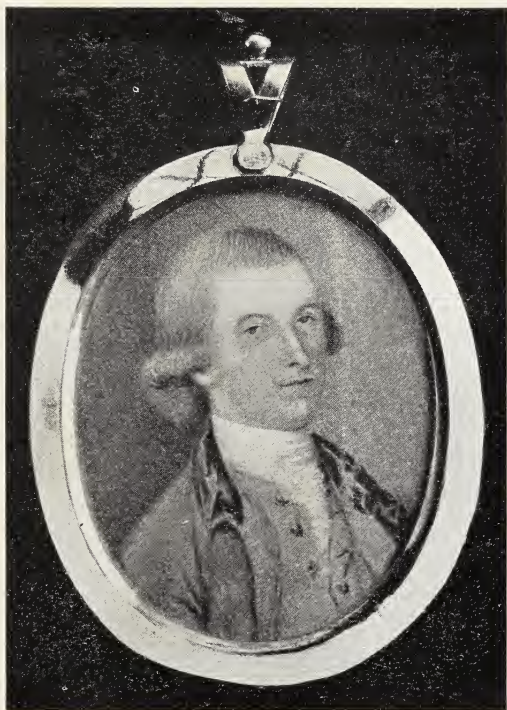
Returning to Philadelphia on Sunday, September 13, 1772, the young presbyter, then twenty-four years old, began his ministry in the parish which he was to serve as assistant minister and rector for almost sixty-four years. In Christ Church, Philadelphia, he had been baptized. There he had as a youth knelt to receive the Holy Communion. There he had prepared for Holy Orders. There, among his own people, a remarkable ministry was to begin. After more than three score years of faithful service, his remains were to be laid to rest beneath the shadow of its walls, until, on the one hundredth anniversary of his admission to the diaconate, his ashes were to be placed beneath the chancel, thus consecrated for all time to his memory.

The circumstances of his official connection with the staff of the United Churches of Christ Church and S. Peter's are interesting and important in their exhibition of White's unselfishness. That his friend and colleague, the Rev. Thomas Coombe, might have a salary sufficient for his support, Mr. White voluntarily surrendered that portion to which he was fully entitled, both in view of his abilities and his abundant and acceptable service. On June 19th, three months before White's return to Philadelphia, the rector, the Rev. Dr. Richard Peters, informed the vestry<sup>2</sup> that the whole pastoral duty of both churches had been performed by himself and Mr. Duché, since Mr. Sturgeon's resignation; that "the duty was too heavy to be performed by any two persons;" and that his own health was such that it was not probable he should be able to officiate for some time. He went on to say:

<sup>1</sup>*Prot. Episcopal Historical Society Collections, I., p. 117.*

<sup>2</sup>*Benjamin Dorr, "A Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia," pp. 167-175, Philadelphia, 1841.*





WILLIAM WHITE

*This etching of the First Bishop of Pennsylvania is from a miniature by Peale and shows Dr. White as he looked in 1772.*

*The original is in the possession of the Rev. Dr. James Alan Montgomery, great great-grandson of the Bishop.*



"Under this exigency, several, I may say almost all, have turned their eyes on two young gentlemen, Mr. Coombe and Mr. White, who were born and educated in this city, both of excellent moral character and known abilities; both in full orders, and licensed by the bishop of London for this province. You, gentlemen, I believe, think with the congregation, as I likewise do, that an immediate assistance is wanted, and that a fairer opportunity of having it can never offer."

The vestry agreed with the rector that two assistant ministers were necessary and "expressed their good opinion of the merits of Mr. Coombe and Mr. White, and their desire to invite them as assistants, if ways and means could be devised to raise money for their support; the present revenues being barely sufficient to provide for the rector and Mr. Duché."

Meanwhile, Coombe and White, on their return from England, assisted Dr. Peters very acceptably to all concerned without any official standing, and in November the rector again pressed the matter of having official assistance. The vestry, after serious deliberation, "unanimously agreed that the rector should be desired to confer with Dr. Coombe and Mr. White, and know of them on what terms they would be satisfied to become assistant ministers." On November 23rd, Mr. Peters laid before the vestry letters from the young clergymen, in one of which Mr. Coombe wrote:

"A desire to avoid the appearance of covetousness, and everything that may look like driving a bargain, in a concern where our motives should be the most generous on both sides, would urge me to undertake the service of the church on almost any terms; but my particular situation and wants represent it to me in the light of duty not to involve myself and my connexions in poverty, through a mistaken notion of disinterestedness. Sir, every gentleman in your vestry is a better judge of what can support a family decently, than I can be supposed to be. They have already provided salaries for assistant ministers, at a time when the expenses of living were much more reasonable than they are at present; and having these facts before them, I rather wish a proposal on their part, than offer a demand on mine."

The Rev. Thomas Coombe had been associated with White in the theological studies prosecuted under the direction of the Philadelphia clergy, and on his ordination had served for two or three years as a curate and lecturer in London. "He was," said Bishop White in his autobiographical sketch, "my senior by about five months. We had been companions in the English school, but I had graduated a year be-

fore him. He had a fine voice, and was considerably conversant in what is called polite literature; but had no turn to the study either of the dead languages or of the sciences."

White replied to Dr. Peters' inquiry in the following letter:

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I return you my thanks for your obliging manner of communicating to me the minute of vestry, made on the 16th of this month. After mature consideration on what is there proposed, it is my opinion that it will be more honourable, both for the gentlemen of the vestry and myself, if the sum to be given towards my support be first named by them; because it will depend on the state of their funds, of which they are much better judges than I can be; and I am persuaded that they will make no proposal, which I shall not readily acquiesce in. I hope, Sir, you will do me the favour, when you communicate this answer, to thank the gentlemen of the vestry in my name, for the good opinion they have expressed of me, by inviting me to the office of an assistant minister among them, before my return from England. In whatever situation it may please Providence to place me, it will always be my endeavor to cultivate their esteem.

I am, reverend sir, with great respect,  
Your affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM WHITE.

November 22d, 1772.

Rev. Dr. Peters.

On November 30th a further report on the church revenues was read in the vestry meeting, and the rector presented the following letter from the Rev. Mr. White:

Philadelphia, November 30, 1772

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I find it to be the intention of the vestry to divide between the Rev. Mr. Coombe and me, whatever can be spared of the money arising from their funds, and that they are desirous of raising from the congregations a further supply, which they likewise mean to divide between us.

This letter is intended to inform you, that whilst I officiate in these churches, I shall always be satisfied with what they can afford to offer me from their regular funds, and not expect to receive any part of what may be raised by some new way. If a proposal be made to the congregations for a further supply, I am sure the vestry will do me the justice to express it in such a manner, as that none may be led to suppose me interested in the success of it. Perhaps they will think it proper



to mention, in their proposal, that I am excluded by my own desire, in order to make known their intention to preserve an equality between Mr. Coombe and me.

I submit it, sir, to your judgment, whether this letter be read to the vestry, or the substance of it be declared to them by you.

I am, reverend sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM WHITE.

Rev. Dr. Peters.

The rector announced his purpose of giving to each of the new assistants, during his incumbency, one hundred pounds per annum out of his own purse, whereupon the two clergymen were "received and admitted as assistant ministers" by resolution, "during the pleasure of the vestry," and two hundred pounds per annum voted to Mr. Coombe, and this further action taken respecting Mr. White:

"And whereas the vestry are sensible that the same salary ought to be allowed to the Rev. Mr. White, yet, as he has so generously and earnestly expressed his desire not to receive more than the Church funds can allow, and will be content as they are informed, for the present, with one hundred and fifty pounds; Resolved, That the annual sum of fifty pounds be paid out of the Church funds to the Rev. Mr. White, over and above the rector's gift of one hundred pounds per annum."<sup>3</sup>

In 1774 the budget of the United Churches stood as follows:

Mr. Duché. . . . .	£350
Mr. Coombe. . . . .	300
Mr. White. . . . .	150
Officers' salary. . . . .	134
Annual repairs. . . . .	50

With a total budget of £984 or \$2,624.00,<sup>4</sup> the parish was running a deficit of £192. To make this up, the pew rents were increased fifty per cent. From this time until his death, the question of salary was never raised by Mr. White. The parish paid him what the vestry felt able to pay. His personal fortune had much to do with his independence in the matter of salary and was a factor in his success in the succeeding years, during and after the war, when the financial support of most of the

<sup>3</sup>Dorr's "History of Christ Church," p. 171.

<sup>4</sup>A Pennsylvania pound was not the same as the pound sterling, but equalled about \$2.66. The salary of any one of the above clergymen can be readily reckoned by multiplying the pounds by two and two-thirds, although the purchasing power of a dollar or pound in those days was many times greater than today.

clergy was exceedingly precarious. Through the depreciation of the currency in the war, Mr. White lost at least £10,000 (\$26,666.66) from the paternal estate. But the remainder was still ample to enable him to maintain the position of himself and his family among the foremost citizens of Philadelphia.

On February 11, 1773, Mr. White married Mary Harrison, daughter of Henry Harrison, one-time sea captain, successful merchant, alderman and mayor of Philadelphia. Mr. Harrison was also one of the wardens of Christ Church when it was the only Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. The marriage was a happy one. Their first child, a daughter, was born November 27, 1773, dying immediately after birth. The other children<sup>5</sup> of this union were:

2. *Elizabeth*, born January 28, 1776; married General William Macpherson; died November 7, 1831; issue.
3. *Mary*, born August 28, 1777; married Enos Bronson; died November 17, 1826; issue.
4. *Thomas*, born November 9, 1779; married Mary Key Heath; died October 15, 1859; issue.
5. *Ann*, born February 8, 1781; died January 23, 1787.
6. *Henry Harrison*, born March 3, 1782; died May 26, 1783.
7. *William*, born June 1, 1784; died January 22, 1797.
8. *Henry Harrison*, born June 17, 1785; died July 17, 1788.

Mrs. White died December 13, 1797. "He always spoke of her as Mrs. White, in the tenderest terms, but with a reserve which indicated that the affection was too strong and the sense of loss too deep to be treated with freedom."

The early part of their married life was passed in the house at the southwest corner of Pine and Front Streets, upon the site of which now stands the building that was for years St. Peter's House. Since Mr. White was the junior assistant, his services were probably given principally to St. Peter's Church, which would explain his residence in its vicinity. In his study in this house were planned all measures for the reorganization of the Church in Pennsylvania and the preliminary steps which led to the union of all the churches in all the states into the American Episcopal Church.

<sup>5</sup>"Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Colonel Thomas White, of Maryland, Held at Sophia's Dairy, on the Bush River, Maryland, June 7, 1877." Philadelphia, 1879, pp. 150 ff.

## II. WHITE AND THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

With the advantage of historical perspective we can now see that William White's stand in the War of Independence was providential. By his espousal of the Whig cause he won the confidence of the clergy to the South and that of the laity both North and South. By refusing "to beat the ecclesiastical drum", as he himself expressed it, the loyalist clergy were inclined to forgive and to forget. But the candid historian must not be content with this observation. He must resolutely press the question: "Since White, in common with all the clergy of the Church of England in the Colonies, on ordination to the priesthood, had taken a solemn oath of allegiance to the British Crown, what justification did he have for breaking that oath when others of his brethren did not feel thus justified? Was he sincere and highminded in the course he adopted, or was it mere clever calculation as to the winning side? Did he have any basis in reason or history or constitutional law for his position?" Before we explore the answers to these questions, we must briefly outline the actions of some of his colleagues.

In Philadelphia, the clergy, from the very first, arrayed themselves on the side of the Colonies. The views of the Provost of the College, Dr. William Smith, had been expressed at the time of the Stamp Act (1765), and these views were unchanged when, in 1774, the representatives of the Colonies assembled in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, to consult as to the duty and perils of the hour. It was agreed after debate concerning the existing division among them in religious sentiments, to open the business with prayer. Samuel Adams moved that Mr. Duché "might be desired to read prayers to the Congress tomorrow morning." Mr. Duché accepted the invitation, read several prayers and the Thirty-fifth Psalm, and then, so John Adams records<sup>6</sup>, "unexpectedly to everybody, struck out into an extemporaneous prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness, and pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, for America, for the Congress, for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially for the town of Boston. It had an excellent effect upon everybody here." John Adams also notes with approval in his diary the remark of Joseph Reed that "we were never guilty of a more mas-

<sup>6</sup>*American Archives, Series IV, p. 802; John Adams "Works", II. 368, 369; Bancroft's "History of the United States," VII, 131; Wells' "Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams", II, 222, 223.*

terly stroke of policy than in moving that Mr. Duché might read prayers."

That William White's views were those of the Congress and its supporters, we have ample evidence. His name appears attached to the letter of the Philadelphia clergy to the Bishop of London, written the following year :

Philadelphia, June 30th, 1775.

My Lord.—We now sit down under deep affliction of mind to address your Lordship upon a subject in which the very existence of our Church in America seems to be interested. It has long been our fervent prayer to Almighty God that the unhappy controversy between the Parent Country and these Colonies might be terminated upon Principles honorable and advantageous to both without proceeding to the extremities of civil war and the horrors of bloodshed. We have long lamented that such a spirit of Wisdom and Love could not mutually prevail, as might devise some liberal plan for this benevolent purpose ; and we have spared no pains in our power for advancing such a spirit so far as our private influence and device could extend. But as to public advice we have hitherto thought it our duty to keep our Pulpits wholly clear from everything bordering on this contest, and to pursue that line of reason and Moderation which became our character ; equally avoiding whatever might irritate the Tempers of the people or create a suspicion that we were opposed to the interest of the Country in which we live. But the time is now come, my Lord, when even our silence would be misconstrued and when we are called upon to take a more public part. The Continental Congress have recommended the 20th of next month as a day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer thro' all the Colonies. Our Congregations, too, of all Ranks have associated themselves, determined never to submit to the Parliamentary claim of taxing them at pleasure, and the Blood already spilt in maintaining this claim is unhappily alienating the affections of many from the Parent Country and cementing them closer in the most fixed purpose of a Resistance dreadful even in Contemplation. Under these circumstances our people call upon us and think they have a right to our advice in the most public manner from the Pulpit. Should we refuse, our Principles would be misrepresented and even our religious usefulness destroyed among our people. And our complying may perhaps be interpreted to our disadvantage in the Parent Country. Under these difficulties (which have been increased by the necessity some of our Brethren have apprehended themselves under of quitting their charges) and being at a great distance from the advice of our superiors, we had only our own consciences and each other to consult, and have accordingly determined out that part which the general good seems to require. We were the more



willing to comply with the request of our Fellow Citizens, as we were sure their Respect for us was so great that they did not even wish anything from us inconsistent with our characters as Ministers of the Gospel of Peace. Military Associations are no new things in this Province where we never have had any Militia Law. They subsisted during the different Alarms in the last war, and they now subsist under the special countenance of our own Assemblies professing the most steady Loyalty to His Majesty, together with an earnest desire of re-establishing our former harmony with the Mother Country, and submitting in all things agreeable to the ancient modes of Government among us. Viewing matters in this light, and considering that not only that they were members of our own congregations who called upon us, but that sermons have heretofore been preached to such bodies, we thought it advisable to take our turn with the Ministers of other Denominations: and a Sermon was accordingly preached by Dr. Smith the 17th instant, in which he thought it necessary to obviate any misrepresentations that might be made of the Principles of our Church. Mr. Duché is likewise to preach on the 7th July, upon a similar Invitation and all our Clergy throughout the Colonies, we believe, will preach on the day recommended by the Continental Congress for a Fast. And God knows that exclusive of such a Recommendation, there never was a Time when Prayer and Humiliation were more incumbent upon us. Tho' it has of late been difficult for us to advise, or even correspond as usual with our Brethren the Clergy of New York, we find that they have likewise in their Turn officiated to their Provincial Congress now sitting there as Mr. Duché did both this year and the last at the opening of the Continental Congress. Upon this fair and candid state of things, we hope your Lordship will think our conduct has been such as became us and we pray that we can be considered as among His Majesty's most dutiful and Loyal subjects in this and every other transaction of our lives. Would to God that we could become mediators for the Settlement of the unnatural Controversy that now distracts a once happy Empire. All that we can do is to pray for such a Settlement and to pursue those Principles of Moderation and Reason which your Lordship always recommended to us. We have neither Interest nor Consequence sufficient to take any great Lead in the Affairs of this great Country. The people will feel and judge for themselves in matters affecting their own civil happiness; and were we capable of any attempt which might have the appearance of drawing them to what would be a slavish Resignation of their Rights, it would be destructive to ourselves as well as to the Church of which we are ministers. But it is but justice to our Superiors and your Lordship in particular to declare that such conduct has never been required of us. Indeed could it possibly be required, we are not backward to say our Consciences

would not permit us to injure the Rights of the Country. We are to leave our families in it and cannot but consider its Inhabitants entitled, as well as their Brethren in England, to the Right of granting their own money, and that every attempt to deprive them of this Right will either be found abortive in the end or attended with evils which would infinitely outweigh all the Benefit to be obtained by it. Such being our persuasion, we must again declare it to be our constant Prayer, in which we are sure your Lordship joins, that the hearts of good and benevolent men in both Countries may be directed towards a Plan of Reconciliation worthy of being offered by a great Nation that have long been the Patrons of Freedom throughout the world, and not unworthy of being accepted by a People sprung from them, and by birth claiming a participation of their Rights. Our late worthy Governor, the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Rich. Penn, esq., does us the favor to be the bearer hereof, and has been pleased to say he will deliver it to your Lordship in Person. To him therefore we beg leave to refer your Lordship for the truth of the facts above set forth. At the ensuing meeting of our Corporation for the relief of Widows, etc., which will be in the first week in October next, We shall have an opportunity of seeing a Number of our Brethren together and consulting more generally with them upon the present state of our affairs and shall be happy on all occasions in the continuance of your Lordship's paternal Advice and Protection.

RICHARD PETERS,  
Wm. SMITH,  
JACOB DUCHE,  
THOMAS COOMBE,  
WILLIAM STRINGER,  
WILLIAM WHITE.

On June 23, 1775, the Provost of the College and Academy, Dr. William Smith, preached a sermon in Christ Church "on the present situation of American affairs." It was delivered before a battalion of the volunteer militia of Philadelphia, and in the presence of the members of the Continental Congress and, as Silas Deane informs us, "a vast concourse of people." The impression produced by the appearance of this discourse in print was unprecedented. Edition after edition was published and exhausted in Philadelphia and elsewhere. The Chamberlain of London ordered ten thousand copies to be printed at his expense, and distributed freely or sold at a mere nominal price. Other editions appeared in various cities abroad. It was translated into several foreign languages, as affording an authoritative statement of the condition of affairs in the Colonies. A copy of this sermon accompanied the letter given above, addressed to the Bishop of London. A little

later, two sermons by the Rev. Mr. Duché, and one by the Rev. Mr. Coombe, appeared from the press.<sup>7</sup>

With reference to these sermons the records of Christ Church give us the following interesting particulars:

"June 15, 1775. The Rector acquainted the Vestry that the Continental Congress having inserted a publication in this day's *Gazette*, recommending Thursday, the 20th day of July, as a day of general humiliation, fasting, and prayer through all the American provinces, requested that they would give him their advice with respect to his own conduct. The Vestry very readily told him that they knew the sense of the congregation in this matter, and assured him it would be universally expected by them that he would comply with the recommendation; and that if he did not, it would give great offence; and as this was the unanimous opinion of the Vestry, he declared his own sense of the matter, and told them that the Churches would be opened on that day, and divine service performed, and that there should be proper prayers and services, suitable to such a solemn humiliation, and notices should be given thereof in both Churches next Sunday."<sup>8</sup>

The Rev. Dr. Peters resigned the rectorship of the United Churches on the 23d of the following September, and died in Philadelphia, July 10, 1776, only six days after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The Rev. Mr. Duché was unanimously chosen to succeed him as rector. He, Mr. Coombe and Mr. White were all natives of Philadelphia.

In all this excitement, except for his name attached to the letter to the Bishop of London, Mr. White does not actively appear. No sermon by him was printed at this time. Yet he came to espouse the Colonists' cause to the full, whereas Duché and Coombe drew back. Fortunately, the reader can judge for himself, from Mr. White's own pen, whether or not he was justified in the course he adopted and steadfastly pursued. In his autobiographical sketch, written at Bishop Hobart's request, he says:

<sup>7</sup>*The titles of these discourses were as follows: "The Duty of Standing Fast in our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties"; a sermon preached in Christ Church, July 7th, 1775, by the Rev. Jacob Duché, M. A. 8 vo., pp. iv, 24. Text Galatians, v. 1.*

*"The American Vine", a sermon preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia, before the Honourable Continental Congress, July 20th, 1775. Being the day recommended by them for a General Fast throughout the United English Colonies of America. By the Rev. Jacob Duché, M. A., 8 vol., pp. 34. Text, Psalm lxxx. 14.*

*"A Sermon Preached Before the Congregations of Christ Church and S. Peter's," Philadelphia, on Thursday, July 20th, 1775. By Thomas Coombe, M. A., Chaplain to the Most Noble the Marquis of Rockingham. 8 vo., pp., 29. Text, 2 Chron. xx. 11, 12, 13.*

<sup>8</sup>*Dorr, ibid, pp. 175, 176.*

"The principles which I had adopted, are those which enter into the constitution of England, from the Saxon times, however the fact may have been disguised by Mr. Hume; and were confirmed and acted on at the revolution in 1688. The late measures of the English government contradicted the rights, which the colonists had brought with them to the wilds of America; and which were, until then, respected by the mother country. The worst state of dependent provinces has been that which bound them to a country itself free. This is a fact sufficiently illustrated in the case of those of Rome; which were more miserable under the republic than under the emperors, monsters as the most of them were. Our quarrel was, substantially, with our free fellow subjects of Great Britain; and we never objected to the constitutional prerogatives of the crown, until it threw us out of its protection. This it did, independently of other measures, by what was called the prohibitory Act, passed in November 1775, authorizing the seizure of all vessels belonging to persons of this country, whether friends or foes. The Act arrived about the time of the publication of Paine's *Common Sense*. Had the Act been contrived by some person in league with Paine, in order to give effect to his production, no expedient could have been more ingenious. To a reader of that flimsy work at the present day, the confessed effect of it at the time is a matter of surprise. Had it issued six months sooner, it would have excited no feeling except that of resentment against the author. But there had come a crisis, which the foremost leaders of American resistance were reluctant to realize to their minds.

"Even in regard to war, there is a fact which shows how far it was from being sought for or anticipated by the American people. The congress of 1774 concluded their address to them, with advice to be prepared for all events; and yet, until the shedding of blood at Lexington, in April 1775, there was no preparation, beyond the immediate vicinity of the British army in Boston. The secretary of Congress, Mr. Charles Thomson, subsequently expressed to me his surprise at its not being generally understood, that the Congress perceived the probability of what came to pass; and were of opinion that it should be prepared for, by being provided with the means of resistance.

"These things are said without disrespect to the personal character of the king of Great Britain. He took the part into which, perhaps, any man would have been betrayed by the same circumstances. You know my construction of the scriptural precepts, on the subject of obedience to civil rulers. It engaged my most serious consideration; and under the sense of my responsibility to God, I am still of opinion, that they respect the ordinary administration of men in power; who are not to be resisted from private regards, or for the seeking of changes, however promising in theory. In a mixed government, the constitutional rights of any one branch are as much



the ordinance of God as those of any other. This view of the subject would be abandoned, if it could be proved to be more fruitful of disorder than its opposite. The latter is rather the cause of civil wars, as in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. To talk of hereditary right, when the question is of the sense of the scriptural precepts, is beside the mark; for they look no further than to the present possessor of the power."

In 1830, Bishop White added the following note to the above:

"In support of my ideas of the British Constitution, I might refer to many whom I esteem among the soundest divines of the Church of England; but will name one only, Bishop Sherlock. There is alluded to the thirteenth of the fourth volume of his Sermons.

"The contrary theory lands us on despotism; and if any should be reconciled to this, by the notion of its securing of tranquillity, there cannot be a greater mistake. If there be no constitutional check, it will be found unconstitutionally, in some such shape as that of the praetorian guards of Rome, or of the janizaries of Turkey, or of the combinations of grandees in Russia.

"However satisfactory this train of sentiment, at the crisis referred to, the question of expediency was problematical, considering the immense power of the mother country. Perhaps, had the issue depended on my determination, it would have been for submission, with the determined and steady continuance of rightful claim. But when my countrymen in general had chosen the dreadful measure of forcible resistance—for certainly the spirit was almost universal at the time of arming—it was the dictate of conscience, to take what seemed the right side. When matters were verging to independence, there was less to be said for dissent from the voice of the country than in the beginning. Great Britain had not relinquished a particle of her claim. Her commissioners did not pretend to any power of this sort from the Crown; and had they pretended it, there was no power in the Crown to suspend acts of Parliament, or to promise the repeal of them. On this ground, it must be perceived that the least defensible persons were they who gave their services to the engaging in the war, and then abandoned the cause. In proof of the fact of the almost universal disposition of the Americans, you may be referred to Bisset's *History of the Reign of George the Third*, written in opposition to the anti-government history of Belsham. It will not be unprofitable to you, to bestow your serious attention on the details made by the former, not merely of the injustice of ministerial measures, but of the folly of them; indications of the utter ignorance of our country, and of the consequent incapacity for the governing of it. Government confided, for information, on the persons whom they

ought the most to have distrusted: and repeated failures did not cure them of the delusion, until the effect was irremediable.

"Although possessed of these sentiments, I never beat the ecclesiastical drum. My two brethren in the assistant ministry preached animating sermons, approbatory of the war, which were printed; as did the most prominent of our clergy, Dr. Smith. Our aged rector, in consequence of increasing weakness, was retiring from the world. Not long before this time he resigned his rectorship, was succeeded by Mr. Duché, and soon after died. Being invited to preach before a battalion, I declined; and mentioned to the colonel, who was one of the warmest spirits of the day,<sup>9</sup> my objections to the making of the ministry instrumental to war. I continued, as did all of us, to pray for the king, until Sunday (inclusively) before the 4th of July, 1776.<sup>10</sup> Within a short time after, I took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and have since remained faithful to it. My intentions were upright, and most seriously weighed. I hope they were not in contrariety to my duty."

Mr. White made public his stand in the crisis before the Declaration of Independence and before taking the oath of allegiance to the United Colonies. The commemoration of the gunpowder plot and the revolution of 1688 was then widely observed on the 5th of November. In 1775 this date came on a Sunday, and taking advantage of the occasion he preached a sermon from Romans xiii., 1, 2. The same sermon was twice delivered afterwards, and following the last delivery, April 25th, 1799, he published it. The general principles therein sustained are summarized by his biographer, Bird Wilson:<sup>11</sup>

The text inculcates, and enforces by the proper motives, the duty of subjection to the "higher powers." But he maintained that it gives no support to the opinion of the indefeasible right of princes to the obedience of their subjects; nor to another opinion, which it had been brought to countenance, of the

<sup>9</sup>"The colonel alluded to was Timothy Matlack; whose ardor in the American cause cannot but be still remembered by many." (Note added in 1830.)

<sup>10</sup>The records of Christ Church give the following important minutes:

"At a meeting of the Vestry, at the Rector's, July 4, 1776.

"Present—Rev. Jacob Duché, rector. Timothy Cuthbert, church warden. Jacob Duché, Robert Whyte, Charles Stedman, Edmund Physick, James Biddle, Peter De Haven, James Reynolds, Gerardus Clarkson, vestryman.

"Whereas the honourable Continental Congress have resolved to declare the American colonies to be free and independent states; in consequence of which it will be proper to omit those petitions in the liturgy wherein the King of Great Britain is prayed for, as inconsistent with the said declaration, Therefore Resolved, That it appears to the Vestry to be necessary for the peace and well-being of the Churches, to omit the said petitions; and the rector and assistant ministers of the United Churches are requested, in the name of the Vestry and their constituents, to omit such petitions as are above mentioned." Dorr, *ibid*, pp. 180-1.

<sup>11</sup>Bird Wilson, "Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. William White, D.D.," Philadelphia, 1839, pp. 52-54.

duty of submission to the civil authority, in whatever hands it may be lodged; to whatever extremes it may be abused; and whatever constitutions and laws it may contradict; that the latter is inconsistent with an universally acknowledged characteristic of Christianity; viz. its not intermeddling with the civil constitutions of countries; and its leaving of their different policies to the principles on which they have been respectively founded; that let the opinion mentioned be admitted and acted on in Christian states, it would immediately follow, that all legal boundaries of prerogative are done away; that one simple and absolute dominion supersedes the various modifications of power; that the first prince, or the first robber, who will seize all shall from that moment possess all, to be governed by himself, and by his successors, as their lusts or fancies may direct: that the true sense of the Gospel precepts on the subject is, that they inculcate, in general, the duty of obedience to the civil magistrate, without any nice discussions concerning the origin, or the extent, or the discontinuance of his power; but leaving the doctrine to be applied, in these respects, according to the nature of the duty and the end for which it was ordained: that the doctrine is left on this footing in the Scriptures, in common with all the other social obligations; as, for instance, the authority of father and that of master, with the corresponding duties of child and of servant; the one of which is required, and the other asserted, without limitation or exception; not that there are no limitations or exceptions, for there are confessedly; and it is the business and judgment and of conscience to ascertain and to regard them, and to apply principles to cases, as they occur. That the case of an extreme abuse of power was not at all in contemplation of the apostle; as appears from the verses immediately following the text (verses 3-6), in which he reasons from the nature and the end of government, which are always good, to the suitable submission and obedience; the relation of which reasoning to a wanton abuse of power, or the perversion of it from its true end, cannot be shown. That the passage does not speak of such a case, but leaves it to what reason, under the guidance of religion and morals, shall point out, as the proper means of ascertaining and securing civil rights. That in the same spirit the passage concludes: "Render therefore to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; honour to whom honour." That the most reasonable measure of those dues is the venerable authority of constitution and of law; and there can be no occasion of asserting against these the cause of mere power: and that the duty enjoined is, that when the civil magistrate is in the exercise of his authority agreeably to constitution and to law, it is criminal to resist him, on any pretence whatever.

In September, 1777, the British forces were advancing on Philadelphia, and Mr. White withdrew with his family to the home of his

half-sister, Sophia, Mrs. Aquila Hall, in Harford County, Maryland. He was brought face to face with the need of making another critical decision :

“At this eventful crisis, I received notice that Congress, who had fled to Yorktown, had chosen me their chaplain. They chose, with me, the Rev. Mr. Duffield, of the Presbyterian communion. Nothing could have induced me to accept the appointment at such a time, even had the emolument been an object, as it was not, but the determination to be consistent in my principles, and in the part taken. Under this impression, I divided my time between Congress and my family, which the double chaplainship permitted, until the evacuation of the city in the June following. My acceptance of the chaplainship was a few days before the arrival of the intelligence of the capture of General Bourgoyne; which tended to a revival from the general depression occasioned by the capture of Philadelphia, and by the advance of an army on the frontier of New York; the success of which would have severed the Eastern States from the Southern.”

He continued to hold the office of chaplain until Congress moved to New York in 1789. After the adoption of the Constitution, and the return of the Congress to Philadelphia in 1790, he was reelected to the office by the Senate and retained it until the removal of the seat of government of the city of Washington, in the year 1800.

During the summer of 1777, both Duché and Coombe had a change of heart concerning the Colonists' cause. On September 6th of that year, Coombe had been arrested and confined by order of the president and council of Pennsylvania on “the general charge of having evinced a disposition inimical to the cause of America.” The rector and vestry appealed for a hearing in his behalf, but it was refused. The coming of the British enabled him to officiate in the churches again.

The ability of White to retain the good will and even affection of those with whom he differed is illustrated by the following letter :

Philad<sup>a</sup>, Nov<sup>r</sup> 29, 1777.

My dear Sir,—Your worthy Mother having been so kind as to apprise me of this conveyance, I could not let it pass without a line acquainting you that I am still among the living, and that my affection for you has suffered no diminution by absence, or the difference of political opinions. Soon after we parted my disorder took a turn for the worse, and I continued chained to my bed till the nineteenth day, after which I gradually grew better, and am now, through the goodness of Providence, firmly reestablished in my health. May this hasty,



tho' affectionate, scrawl find you and your little family in this same situation. My own fears and M<sup>rs</sup> Coombe's were considerable, lest M<sup>rs</sup> White should have suffered on the journey, coming so suddenly out of her illness and having an infant at her breast.

Unhappy commotions prevailing in our country, and the difference of our ideas concerning them, first produced a coyness, and hath at length separated us from each other; but be assured that amongst the friends whom you have left behind, no one more cordially regrets your absence than myself, or is a warmer advocate for the sincerity and consistency of your character. I wish we could have seen things thro' the same perspective; but since it is otherwise let us at least cherish, by our examples, sentiments of liberality and candor, and let not public dissensions have the power to obliterate friendships begun in early youth, which have grown up with us to manhood, and which nothing but the clear convictions of each other's want of integrity ought to destroy. I hope we may yet live to brighten the chain in happier days. At all events our disagreements on subjects of public concern, however it may furnish me with an occasion for sorrow, can never lessen my regard for you.

Thus much I longed to say as my heart overflows with good-will to you, and an opportunity of writing may not happen again.

News of a political kind you will not expect from me, and as to other matters I do not recollect a single death or marriage in the circle of our acquaintance. Mr. Duché remains in Town, and, I believe, is well. Young, the clerk of St. Peter's, has left us, and not a creature laments the loss of his melody. The churches have had some supply from Mr. Montgomery, a very worthy and sensible man who is chaplain in the Tenth Regiment. I have not had the pleasure to hear him preach, but am much pleased with his conversation.

And now, my dear friend, as it is Saturday night, and my sermon is not in readiness for tomorrow, I must abruptly take my leave, which I do, with commending you to the blessing of the best of Masters. M<sup>rs</sup> White and M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison will also be pleased to accept my compliments and good wishes. They will have a satisfaction in knowing that M<sup>rs</sup> Coombe and our boy are well. M<sup>rs</sup> C. begs to be remembered.

Thro' whatever vicissitudes we are yet to pass, believe me to be in every personal concern, Sir,

Your affectionate, humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Th: Coombe.

P. S.—If you sh<sup>d</sup> meet with our old friend Montgomery, you won't forget my love to him.

Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr White.

On December 9, 1777, Mr. Duché decided to go to England, and the vestry gave their consent, leaving Mr. Coombe in charge of the churches with the assistance of British army chaplains. Concerning Mr. Duché's reasons for leaving his charge, Mr. White's autobiography throws this interesting light:

"To his country he had become obnoxious, in consequence of a letter written by him to General Washington, entreating him to use his influence with the Congress, for the putting of an end to the war; and, in the event of their refusing, to negotiate at the head of his army. It was a very incorrect measure, but induced by despair of the American cause, and to spare the effusion of blood. On the other hand, Mr. Duché must have been aware that his having officiated as chaplain to Congress, even after the declaration of independence, was known to his superiors in England. To appease in that quarter was the professed object of his voyage.<sup>12</sup>

"He had already suffered, in a degree, for the countenance given by him to what was considered as rebellion. But on the Sunday after the entrance of the British army, in September, 1777, after officiating in Christ Church, and after praying for the king in the service, he was arrested at the door of the church by an officer, and conducted to jail, under the immediate command of Sir William Howe. He remained there one night only; his friends having, in the mean time, made known his change of sentiment; and he, as may be presumed, having taken the oath of allegiance. This is one instance, among very many, of the breach of a promise made in a proclamation issued by the said general at the time of his landing from Chesapeake Bay, in which people were invited to stay at their respective homes, under the assurance of not being punished for the past. The instances of the violation of this promise were too many and too public, to have been matters of oversight; and being during a tide of success, were an awful intimation of the probable consequences of submission.

"In my last visit to England, there was a renewal of my friendly intercourse with Mr. Duché; and I spent the greater number of my Sundays in his family; and in the asylum to which he was chaplain; and you are old enough<sup>13</sup> to have been a witness, when a youth in my neighborhood, of a subsequent renewal of it, on his return to this country, in May 1792. His decease was in March 1797."

In a note appended in 1830, the Bishop adds:

"On the return of Mr. Duché, he lodged, for a few weeks, at my house, with his family. During their being with me, there took place the interesting incident of his visit to President Washington, who had been apprised of and consented to

<sup>12</sup>*This is borne out by Dorr, ibid, pp. 185-187.*

<sup>13</sup>*Refers to Bishop Hobart.*

it, and manifested generous sensibility, on observing, on the limbs of Mr. Duché, the effects of a slight stroke of paralysis, sustained by him in England."

On June 18, 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia and Mr. White returned to his home and parish to find Mr. Coombe "deliberating whether to stay or go. He determined on the latter", and on July 7th, in a very touching letter<sup>14</sup>, resigned as assistant minister, intending to proceed to England. It affords another interesting study in the problems of conscience precipitated by the war.

"The step I have taken is to me a most important one, including a great variety of affecting circumstances; and therefore it was not entered upon without some heartaches, and many a sorrowful anticipation. To go into voluntary banishment from my native city, where it was ever my first pride to be a clergyman; to quit a decent competency among a people whom I affectionately respect and love, and launch out upon the ocean of the world, unknowing what shelter may hereafter be afforded me, is a hard trial for nature. . . .

"Having examined the subject in every point of view that I was capable of placing it, having read such books, and conferred with such wise and good men, as I thought might throw light upon the subject, I found that I could not take the oath to the new government, without the saddest violation of my peace of mind. To have taken this oath, whilst under the smallest doubt concerning its lawfulness, might prove a source of much future anxiety to a retrospective temper; but to have done so, under the full conviction of its repugnancy to prior obligations, would have been the most criminal duplicity. . . . If Great Britain had judged it proper to subscribe to the independence of America, my path would have been plain.

"But since the sovereign still keeps up his claim of right upon this country, and every inhabitant is called upon by the late test law to renounce all allegiance to him, I had only to choose between my duty and my interest. . . . When I consider my little family whom I leave behind, and the difficulties to be encountered in providing them a heritage in a distant country, many painful ideas crowd into my bosom. Gracious God, who art the guardian of the innocent, to thee I commit them!

". . . Accept my poor thanks for all your kindness. You, I know, will do me the justice to believe, that nothing but a conviction of my higher obligations could induce me to quit a charge from which I have received such liberal encouragement. . . ."

The vestry received this letter in a very generous spirit, and instructed the church wardens "to draw a letter to the lord bishop of

<sup>14</sup>Dorr, *ibid*, pp. 191-193.

London, informing him of Mr. Coombe's reasons for retiring from these churches; and assuring his lordship of their full approbation of Mr. Coombe's conduct as minister while he officiated in them."<sup>15</sup>

On October 22nd of the same year, "the vestry resolved, that the annual sum of £350. being the sum heretofore paid Mr. Coombe, be in future paid to the Rev. Mr. White; to commence from the 25th day of September last."<sup>16</sup> From this time until March 26, 1781, a period of nearly three years, Mr. White was alone in the care of both churches. His difficulties can best be described in his own words:

"The present state and prospects of our Church (1819) exhibit a contrast fruitful of satisfaction, compared with the period when I was the only officiating clergyman of our Church in the State. Our settled clergy of the Province, exclusively of the city, had never been more than six; and these were supported principally by stipends from England. During the Revolutionary War, some had died, and the others had retired to England; except Dr. Smith, who remained until what took place subsequently in the college. He then removed to Maryland, and set on foot his measures for the founding of a college in Chestertown; in which he had accepted the parish; and another in Annapolis.

"I was now in a trying situation, in the parochial cure of the churches to which my services had been, and have been ever since, devoted. The difficulty was in regard to the warm spirits of Whigs and Tories, as they were called. With the latter, the danger was the absenting of themselves from the churches; in the devotions of which, the new allegiance was acknowledged. That some took this part, for a time, is certain; but it is remarkable, that of these, there were scarcely any who had professed conscientious scruples against resistance; and that they were chiefly persons, who had engaged in it without calculating the consequences, and had afterwards inconsistently relinquished it. The prejudice wore away gradually. With the hot Whigs it was more difficult to deal, because of the present season of success; and because they who staid in the city had become, in some measure, identified with the enemy; whose conduct had been, in many instances, wantonly oppressive; although, it must be confessed, with very little discrimination between friends and foes. There arose great danger of the introduction of a political creed into the

<sup>15</sup>The later history of Mr. Coombe, Mr. White states to have been as follows: "We renewed our acquaintance during my short stay in England. He had then been in Ireland, chaplain to Lord Carlisle, who was, for a short time, lord lieutenant there; and Mr. Coombe, besides obtaining the degree of doctor in divinity from Trinity College, Dublin, had been presented, by his patron, with a parish. He is now prebendary of Canterbury, and one of the forty-eight chaplains to the king."

<sup>16</sup>Dorr, *ibid*, p. 194.



churches, which might have distracted them for many years. But the heat became allayed by some judicious men on the same side in politics, who convinced them, that instead of endeavouring to annul the last election of vestrymen, it would be best to let all things remain quiet until the next Easter, the time appointed by charter for the annual election. On the arrival of that period, the changes were few; and consisted chiefly in restoring members who had been left out, for no other reason than because, being out of the lines, they could not attend to the duty."

By this time Mr. White had won widespread confidence in his integrity and judgment. His well known political principles, favorable to the liberty and independence of the United States, had been tested and not found wanting, and gave him great influence with those in political power. And the steady, prudent and conciliatory course which he pursued, enabled him to allay the prejudice that the Church which he represented was of necessity hostile to the liberty and welfare of the country. Recognizing all this, at a meeting of the vestry on April 15, 1779, the two wardens and fourteen vestrymen being present, the rectorship of the United Churches was declared vacant in consequence of Mr. Duché's departure, and "the Rev. William White is unanimously elected rector of the united churches of Christ and St. Peter's."<sup>17</sup> The church wardens, after waiting upon Mr. White and informing him of his election and requesting his acceptance, received the following answer:

Gentlemen,

Your appointment of me to the rectorship of the churches you represent, is the most honourable testimony my past ministry among you can receive; except that which, with humble hope I aspire to, from our Redeemer and Judge. I accept it, therefore, with the full confidence, that the same candor and affection which you have hitherto manifested to me as your assistant minister, will be continued to me in this more distinguished and difficult station. At the same time be assured, gentlemen, that I shall always esteem the honour you have this day conferred on me, an addition to my many obligations to conduct myself in such a manner, as to receive your approbation, and satisfy my own conscience.

I beg leave further, to accompany my acceptance of the rectorship, with the declaration, that if ever, at the desire of the vestry, and members in general, of these churches, and with the permission of civil authority, the former rector should return to this country, I shall esteem it my duty, and it will

<sup>17</sup>*Dorr, ibid, p. 194-196.*

be my pleasure, to resign it. The peculiar delicacy of my situation will excuse the liberty I am taking, when I make my earnest request to the vestry, that this letter be recorded with their minutes.

With my best wishes and prayers for yourselves, gentlemen, and the churches you represent, I am,  
Your much obliged and very affectionate

Humble servant,

William White.

Phil., April 15th, 1779.

To the church wardens and vestrymen  
of the united churches of Christ Church and  
St. Peter's Church.

This friendly and generous conduct towards Mr. Duché was not without the danger that the public resentment against his predecessor might be turned against Mr. White. He understood the risk but took it nevertheless. In his letter to Bishop Hobart in which he told something of his own life-story and to which we are indebted for many phases of it, he wrote:

"This (action of the vestry) was not unexpected, but placed me in delicate circumstances, on account of my long friendship for Mr. Duché; whose return, considering his attainder, and the indignation excited by the aforesaid letter, was at present out of the question. There was run the hazard of some share of the same indignation, when it was stated, in the acceptance of the rectorship, that if ever the former rector should return to this country, by the permission of the civil authority, and with the wishes of the members of the churches, I should think it my duty to resign. It is so entered on the minutes, at my desire. When he returned, in 1792, his engaging in the ministerial duty was to be despaired of, as you must remember."

If the wardens and vestrymen had any doubts as to the reaction of the congregation concerning Mr. White's election to the rectorship, they were speedily dispelled. On the 20th of May, 1779, a letter from members of the two churches to the vestry was read at a vestry meeting. In part it was as follows:

"We the subscribers, members of the congregation of Christ and St. Peter's churches, embrace this opportunity of returning you our most sincere and hearty thanks for the regard you have manifested for the welfare of these churches, in the appointment of the Rev. Mr. William White to be the rector of the same.

It is with pleasure, gentlemen, that we inform you we foresee many advantages arising from the nomination of so distinguished a character, for his steady and faithful adherence to the cause of virtue and liberty, to preside over these churches. And were we to omit giving you this public testimony of our approbation, we should fall short of that duty and regard we owe to him, for his past services, care and attention." (The residue of the letter suggests the propriety of calling the congregations together to judge whether any changes are necessary to adapt the constitution of the churches to the changes effected by the revolution.)

It was in this same year that Mr. White was called upon to mourn the decease of his "honored father." It occurred in Maryland, at the house of his eldest daughter, and is thus referred to in one of the few letters of this period of the life of William White which have been preserved:<sup>18</sup>

My dear Sister:—

The intention of this letter is not so much to inform you y<sup>t</sup> your honoured Father has paid y<sup>e</sup> last debt of nature—for y<sup>t</sup> you would have concluded from my letter of this morning to Mr. Morris—but to assure you that it was with as little suffering as so great a change admits of; he was ill but five days, and during y<sup>e</sup> greater part of y<sup>t</sup> time was able to enjoy his Book and y<sup>e</sup> conversation of his friends. For a long time he has expected without y<sup>e</sup> least uneasiness y<sup>t</sup> every attack would be his last, and as this did not arise from discontent at y<sup>e</sup> world or impatience under bodily infirmities, we may flatter ourselves it was built on a foundation w<sup>h</sup> this world can neither give nor destroy. Our Mother is more shocked at y<sup>e</sup> Event than I had reason to expect, considering she must have looked for it so long and been assured of it for these twenty-four hours past; but I trust it will be y<sup>e</sup> happiness for you and me, and I am sure it will be our endeavour, to make up for her loss.

With y<sup>e</sup> hope y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> information here given will alleviate your distress, I am

Your ever affectionate Brother,

W. White.

Harford County,  
September 29, 1779.  
Mrs. Morris.

John Paul Jones having won the desperate naval battle with the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough* on September 23d of this year, and the Colonists' cause looking more hopeful, Congress recom-

<sup>18</sup>"An Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Colonel Thomas White, p. 31.

mended that December 9th be observed as a day of thanksgiving. Religious services were accordingly held in both the churches under Mr. White's care.

On Easter Monday, 1780, the vestry bore testimony to the acceptability of the new rector by unanimously raising his salary to £400 for the ensuing year; "and in consideration of his past services, and the insufficiency of the money heretofore allowed him, do agree to pay him the additional sum of £100; both sums to be paid in specie, or the value thereof."

In 1781, after three years of single-handed service to the two churches, the vestry engaged the Reverend Robert Blackwell "to assist the rector in this duty", beginning March 26th, at £150 per year. By the following September, Mr. Blackwell, "having assisted Mr. White for some time past to the satisfaction of the congregation and vestry", was elected the assistant minister at £350. per year.

It is evident from this that Mr. White had his congregations solidly behind him, and it was from this background that he was soon to emerge as a national and even international figure in the ecclesiastical world.

### III. WHITE AND THE COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA

Throughout his life William White had been intimately connected with the College of Philadelphia. His father had been a charter member of the Board of Trustees; William White was a student there for ten years; in 1773 he himself became a trustee. In the very year of his election to the rectorship of the United Churches (1779), a major crisis arose in the concerns of the college. Before we enter into the details of this crisis, let us glance briefly at its origins and early history. In Bishop White's own words:

"It was established on what has been called the broad bottom. My own opinion is, that it is important to a religious society to have literary institutions under its jurisdiction. But they who have supposed the College of Philadelphia to have been Episcopalian are mistaken. Still, the greater number of the trustees were of our denomination; and this, with some other circumstances, was sufficient, and apparently would always be so, to prevent its being under a direction subservient to any other religious body. When Dr. Smith was collecting in England, Dr. Samuel Chandler, then the most efficient minister of the dissenting interest, had countenanced the collection; but having been informed, from this side of the water, of apprehensions lately excited, that the liberal foundation of the seminary was about to be narrowed in favor of the Church of England, the matter drew the serious attention of all who had



patronized the design in that country. The issue was the framing of an instrument, which was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the two proprietaries, and by the said Dr. Chandler. It states the above circumstances; and, in order to allay the apprehensions, recommends that the trustees should make a declaration, to be signed by themselves, and by every trustee to be subsequently chosen, that the seminary should be conducted according to the comprehensive scheme then in operation. On the arrival of this communication, although it was a measure never thought of among the trustees, they complied with the proposal, from respect for the persons who made it, and from gratitude for favours received. Be the merits or the demerits of the act what it may, it was done for the quieting of anti-Episcopalian jealousy; and there was not a voice raised against it, until the close of the year 1779. . . .”

When, in 1776, the State of Pennsylvania adopted its republican constitution, steps were taken to make inviolable the chartered rights of the College as well as those of all religious and scientific corporations.

“During the session of the convention which framed the first republican constitution of this state (in 1776), at the instance of Dr. Smith, there was held, at his house, a meeting of sundry gentlemen interested in the inviolability of religious and scientific corporations. I was present. On request, Dr. Franklin, the president of the convention, met us; and cheerfully promised to propose to the body an article drawn up by Dr. Smith, securing all chartered rights. The article may be seen in the instrument (section forty-five), and in connection with the subsequent act of assembly, invading the charter of the college, will remain a proof of the feebleness of constitutional restraints on a single legislature. The convention thought they had provided against the danger of a breach of the constitution, by the expedient of a septennial council of censors. When the council met, they were under the political bias of the former assembly. But, ‘*quis custodiet custodes?*’ They accordingly sanctioned the injustice.”

What usually accompanies war—the enhancement of the power of the state, the breakdown of moral restraints, and the violation of constitutional rights and liberties—now took place. In 1779, by an arbitrary act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, the property and powers of the trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia were taken from them and transferred to the trustees of the *University of the State of Pennsylvania*, a new body created by the legislature. This is said to have been done because of “fears repeatedly expressed that Dr. Smith planned to make the institution sectarian.”

"The Legislature framed an act grounded on this very measure, which was construed to give the Church a preference,<sup>19</sup> because of the then provost's being a clergyman of it. The seminary, and all the estate, were taken from its trustees, and a new board was constructed, consisting of six officers of government, the senior ministers of six denominations, and thirteen others by name. In the preceding summer, the president of the state had sent a message, advising the not holding of an intended commencement. But this was predicated on an alleged breach of the charter, by the late election of several trustees, who were admitted to take their seats without an oath of allegiance to the king. Compliance with the charter, in this respect, was out of the question; which showed, it was said, that the corporation could not act, under the present system of things. It may be supposed, that the futility of this was afterwards perceived; the oath having been abolished, but the chartered rights not forfeited, by the Revolution. Accordingly the aforesaid declaration was fastened on.

"It was my opinion,<sup>20</sup> and I still think, that what principally gave offence was the political complexion of the trustees lately chosen. They were gentlemen prominent in the Revolution, but, in the politics of the state, opposed to those who governed it. Party spirit had risen to a great height; and between the first attack on the college, in preventing the commencement, and the consummating of the design by a legislative act, had broken out in violence involving bloodshed. I allude to the attack on the house in my neighborhood, long after known by the name of Fort Wilson, so called from the name of my friend, who owned and occupied it. When this outrage happened, I was in Maryland, attending on the funeral of my father.

"Perhaps, however, justice required mention of the plea, by which the members of the legislature of 1779 repelled the charge of perjury; for they had all sworn obedience to the constitution. They said, that the estates were continued to the promotion of science. On a like pretence, they might have seized on the churches of any offensive denomination, continuing them to the promoting of religion: themselves being the judges how this may best be done.

"I was present<sup>21</sup> when the subject was argued in the council of censors. Arguments against the legislative measure were powerfully urged, from the well known rights of chartered bodies; and from the article in the constitution, framed for the express purpose of creating additional security to those now

<sup>19</sup>"It is referred to in the Act in the following words: "And whereas the college, academy, and charitable school of the city of Philadelphia, were at first founded on a plan of free and unlimited catholicism; but it appears that the trustees whereas, by a vote or by-laws of their board, bearing date the 14th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1764, have departed from the plan of the original founders, and narrowed the foundation of the said institution." (Section 2.)

<sup>20</sup>Note added in 1830. An account of the attack is given in the "Life of James Wilson," in Delaplaine's "Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence."

<sup>21</sup>A note added in 1830.

existing. All was made to give way to the plea, that the property would be still applied to the promoting of literature. Such is the feebleness of an oath, opposed to passion. One benefit, however, may have arisen from the event. It may remind a rash legislature that their acts are liable to the review of their successors."

Under the terms of the act confiscating the property and powers of the trustees of the College of Philadelphia and transferring them to the "University of the State of Pennsylvania," the senior minister of the Episcopal Churches in Philadelphia had a right to a seat as trustee of the new corporation. Mr. White was rightly indignant over the whole action and was at first unwilling to exercise his right. However, he took counsel with his vestry and while they shared his indignation they felt that, "as to a right accruing under the new arrangement, it ought not to be lost to the Church," and expressed the opinion that he should "attend the meetings."

"The new modelled institution ("The University of the State of Pennsylvania") had not been long in operation, when an unexpected scene opened to me. The leaders in the change had been principally of the Presbyterian communion, which was also the general cast of the legislature; and the contemplated president, who was the Rev. Dr. Ewing, had been active in bringing matters to the present issue. Without any personal ill-will to him, or to any other person, it had been a source of dissatisfaction with me, to contemplate the apparent tendency to the putting of the seminary under an influence, which seemed likely to control all the literary instruction of the United States. But great was my surprize, on finding that there was a corps of resistance, consisting of trustees with whom I had held very little intercourse. It so happened, that they determined on pushing me to be provost; and I struck in with them, under the hope that my station of rector might be put on so reasonable a footing, in point of labor and of emolument, as that my time would be more devoted to literature, than on any other plan ought to have been permitted. Dr. Ewing gained his election by one vote. It was that of a trustee, whose vote in my favor had been presumed on, and who was probably secured on the other side, by a circumstance not then generally known, but afterwards ascertained. The party had become liable to a prosecution, by an act done during the possession of the city by the British army, and known to the gentlemen at the head of the government. That this was the motive, cannot be positively affirmed, but was rendered probable by circumstances. The opposite side were assiduous in offering to me their votes for the vice-provostship, but my zeal did not carry me quite so far as to comply. After all, the ecclesiastical

ascendency proved to be far short of what had been apprehended.

"In the spring of 1782, I received the honor of a doctorate from the university; and was the first person on whom that degree was conferred by the institution."

"The injustice done to the college gave birth to the Episcopal Academy," and since the Academy is to this day one of the notable institutions of its kind, and since one of its proudest boasts is that it was founded by William White, something should be said of its origins.

Dr. White first took the matter up with his vestry in the fall of 1784; the latter appointed a committee of inquiry consisting of Dr. White as chairman and four laymen; on November 8th, 1784, the committee reported the expediency and practicability of such an institution and further recommended:

"That it be declared to the subscribers as essential to the intended seminary, that it shall be under the government of sixteen persons, every one of whom shall either be a clergyman of some church of the protestant Episcopal communion, now, or hereafter being in this city, or within five miles thereof; or he shall be qualified to be elected a vestryman in one or more of the said churches, and have either subscribed the sum of at least ten pounds to the said seminary, or received his education therein, and left it with an honourable certificate of his conduct and proficiency."<sup>22</sup>

Dr. White first offered the headship to the Rev. Dr. Charles Henry Wharton<sup>23</sup> in a letter dated October 23, 1784. In that letter Dr. White outlines his ideas of its function and character:

". . . The shameful state of education in this city has induced many gentlemen to desire to see an academy opened under the patronage of Christ Church and S. Peter's. . . . My idea is, that it should always be filled by a clergyman of our Church; chiefly, because I have in contemplation a plan by which our vestry might forward the design by allowing him a compensation for assisting their clergy in the Sunday duty, leaving him totally disengaged from the parochial.

"Two objects should be proposed in the intended Academy, to fit youth in general for business, and to lay the foundation of a collegiate education, for those who intend to take it, so that a year or two at the University may suffice.

"Among many projects that occur to me on this subject,

<sup>22</sup>Dorr, *"Historical Account of Christ Church,"* pp. 201-2.

<sup>23</sup>"*The Remains of the Rev. Charles Henry Wharton, D.D., with a Memorial of His Life,*" by George Washington Doane, D.D. Philadelphia, 1884, Vol. I., pp. xxxv, xxxvi.



I submit to you the following outlines for your opinion: Suppose three schools for English, Mathematics, and the Latin and Greek languages. Although I am convinced of your abilities for either, I wish to see you in the last, for two reasons: first, because I wish to see (what has never been attempted here) a classical taste for the English tongue, accompanying the knowledge of the Latin; for which purpose the eldest classes—suppose Cicero's Orations, Horace, and Longinus."

Dr. Wharton felt compelled to decline the offer in view of the state of his health. The subsequent steps taken in founding the Academy are thus detailed by Bishop White in a paper drawn up in 1816:

"By y<sup>e</sup> design of y<sup>e</sup> Institution originated with y<sup>e</sup> writer of this narrative, he ought not to be backward to declare that he was induced to it by y<sup>e</sup> opinion of y<sup>e</sup> expediency of every religious society's being possessed of a Seminary in which their youth, at least in y<sup>e</sup> early stages of their education, may be instructed in y<sup>e</sup> principles of religion, agreeably to y<sup>e</sup> views entertained by y<sup>e</sup> society in question. Under existing circumstances, a more extensive plan than that of preparation for a collegiate education, was evidently not to be accomplished.

"For y<sup>e</sup> establishment of a Seminary of an inferior grade, y<sup>e</sup> crisis was peculiarly favourable, on account of y<sup>e</sup> unjust and unconstitutional Act of y<sup>e</sup> Legislature, in y<sup>e</sup> invasion of y<sup>e</sup> chartered right of y<sup>e</sup> college, Academy, and charitable schools of y<sup>e</sup> city of Philadelphia; which had occasioned dissatisfaction in y<sup>e</sup> minds of a great proportion of y<sup>e</sup> citizens, and especially those of y<sup>e</sup> Episcopal Church; y<sup>e</sup> members whereof had contributed more than those of any other communion to y<sup>e</sup> establishment and y<sup>e</sup> support of y<sup>e</sup> Seminary.

"It is not designed to insinuate that there was anything in y<sup>e</sup> constitution, or in y<sup>e</sup> engagements of y<sup>e</sup> old College, giving a preference to y<sup>e</sup> Episcopal Church. It had been carried on from y<sup>e</sup> beginning on a different principle. It was generally supposed that y<sup>e</sup> instituting of y<sup>e</sup> academy had a considerable effect on y<sup>e</sup> restoration of y<sup>e</sup> College.

"With a view to an institution of a more humble kind, subscriptions were solicited and obtained in y<sup>e</sup> latter end of y<sup>e</sup> year 1784.

"On y<sup>e</sup> first of January in y<sup>e</sup> following year (1785), y<sup>e</sup> subscribers assembled in Christ Church, agreed on y<sup>e</sup> fundamental laws. The sums subscribed and paid, including all subsequent contributions, amounted to £4,214. 7s. 11d.

"On y<sup>e</sup> fourth of April following, there was opened a Latin, mathematical, and an English school. The site was a building on y<sup>e</sup> back part of a lot y<sup>e</sup> East side of Fourth Street, a few feet south of Market Street; before used as a private seminary, and still existing, but concealed from view by houses built on y<sup>e</sup> front of y<sup>e</sup> lot. At y<sup>e</sup> time of opening, y<sup>e</sup> princi-

pal had not been chosen. But on y<sup>e</sup> 21st of April (1785), y<sup>e</sup> Rev. Dr. John Andrews of Maryland was elected to y<sup>e</sup> place; and shortly after took possession of it."

The Academy gave promise of flourishing but for two causes. One was "the projecting of a building which was disproportioned to the object, and which the sums subscribed did not warrant." Dr. White could not oppose the undertaking because of his absence in England during the fall and winter of 1786-87, seeking consecration to the Episcopate. The other cause was that in 1789 the Legislature restored to the former trustees of the College and Academy of Philadelphia its corporate character, its rights and property, and Dr. William Smith again became provost. This in turn was followed by the merger in 1791 of the College of Philadelphia and the University of the State of Pennsylvania under the title, the *University of Pennsylvania*, the institution so well known today, whose original trustees were elected from among their own members by the board of trustees of the College and that of the University.

Thus ended in union and harmony the educational strife generated during the War of Independence. Two distinguished clergymen of the Episcopal Church were to serve as Provost of the merged institution (the *University of Pennsylvania*): Dr. John Andrews, after serving as Vice-Provost from 1791 to 1810, became Provost, 1810-1813; and Dr. William Heathcote De Lancey, later first Bishop of Western New York, saved the institution from threatened extinction by serving as Provost from 1828 to 1833.

#### IV. "THE CASE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERED"

On August 6, 1782, a pamphlet by a young priest thirty-four years old, was advertised for sale in the *Pennsylvania Packet*. The pamphlet was "*The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*", and the author was William White. Both were destined to have a profound influence upon subsequent events.

Because the pamphlet was vigorously attacked in certain quarters, and because one of its principal proposals fortunately became obsolete by the cessation of hostilities, it has been too generally unrealized that practically every principle set forth in the pamphlet, except that dealing with the perpetuation of the ministry, was incorporated into the constitution of the American Episcopal Church and is to this day part and parcel of it.

Since the time element in the appearance of this pamphlet is im-

portant, the temporal background must be briefly noted. Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. Active fighting practically ceased with his surrender. On February 27, 1782, the House of Commons resolved, on motion of General Conway, that "the house would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country all those who advise or attempt the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." On March 20th, Lord North resigned and was succeeded by the ministry of Rockingham and Shelburne; on July 11th, Savannah was evacuated; preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and the United States were not signed at Paris until November 30, 1782, almost four months after White's pamphlet was advertised for sale; but the definitive Treaty of Peace was not signed until almost a year later—September 3, 1783.

On the very day of the appearance of the advertisement of *The Case* in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, August 6, 1782, Congress received a communication from Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby, dated August 2nd, giving the first intimation of the prospect of peace. Before that, Mr. White had handed some copies to a few of his friends. As soon as the prospect of peace opened, he suspended its distribution on the ground that the proposal for the continuation of the ministry was postulated only on the basis of its being "justified by necessity, & by no other Consideration." It was however published in the summer of 1783, and reprinted by Staveland in 1827.<sup>24</sup>

Now what did this famous pamphlet propose?

In the *Preface*, the author stated his reasons for undertaking a discussion of the subject:

"It may be presumed that the members of the Episcopal Churches, some from conviction, and others from the influence of ancient habits, entertain a preference for their own communion; and that accordingly they are not a little anxious, to see some speedy and decisive measures adopted for its continuance.

"He thinks his design is subservient to the general cause of religion and virtue; for a numerous society, losing the benefit of the stated ordinances within itself, cannot but severely feel the effect of such a change, on the piety and morals of its members. In this point of view, all good men must lament the cessation of public worship, which happened to many of the Episcopal Churches, and threatens to become universal.

"The present work he also believes to be connected with the civil happiness of the community. A prejudice has prevailed with many, that the Episcopal Churches cannot otherwise exist than under the dominion of Great Britain. A church

<sup>24</sup>An accessible reprint is to be found in William Stevens Perry, "Reprint of the Journals of General Convention," Volume III (Historical Notes and Documents), pp. 416-435.

government that will contain the constituent principles of the Church of England, and yet be independent of foreign jurisdiction or influence, would remove that anxiety which at present hangs heavy on the minds of many sincere persons."

### *Chapter I*

Mr. White opens his *Case* with a clear and concise statement of the situation of the Episcopal Churches:

"To form an idea of the situation of the Episcopal Churches in the present crisis, we must observe the change their religious system has undergone in the late revolution.

"On whatever principles the independence of the United States may be supposed to rest; . . . there result from it the reciprocal duties of protection and allegiance, enforced by the most powerful sanctions of natural and revealed religion."

He takes occasion to refute the common prejudice that members of the Episcopal Church were hostile to the cause of independence by pointing to "the southern states, where the Episcopalians, who are in a majority of the citizens, have engaged and persevered in the war with as much ardour and constancy as their neighbours."

Dr. White now lays down the postulates upon which his further arguments depend. Episcopalians having acknowledged allegiance to the sovereignty of the States in America, it would be inconsistent to continue in subjection "to any spiritual jurisdiction connected with the temporal authority of a foreign state." The connection between the Episcopal Churches in America and the Bishop of London "is dissolved by the revolution", and even if the Bishop of London were exempted, by act of Parliament, from the necessity of exacting the oaths of allegiance to the crown, formerly demanded of all ordinands, "a dependence on his lordship and his successors in that See, would be liable to the reproach of foreign influence, and render Episcopalians less qualified than those of other communions, to be entrusted by their country;" and such a dependence on foreign jurisdiction would be contrary to the Thirty-fourth Article of Religion.

Furthermore, in the southern states where the Episcopal Church was established by law, the establishments are now overturned.

"It would ill become those bodies (the legislatures), composed of men of various denominations (however respectable collectively and individually), to enact laws for the Episcopal Churches, which will no doubt, in common with others, claim and exercise the privilege of governing themselves."

The future continuance of the Churches "can be provided for only by voluntary associations for union and good government."



*Chapter II*

The author throughout his argument points out the necessity of paying attention "to the sentiments, habits, and circumstances of the people interested", and keeping "in view the particular situation of the churches in question." He also appeals to the position and practice of the Primitive Church, which was, of course, the ground taken by the Church of England at the Reformation. And he foresees a restoration which had not prevailed anywhere since 313 A. D., over fourteen hundred years: the complete separation of church and state; and what even the Primitive Church never fully enjoyed—the independence of the church from the state, and the effective establishment of the concept: "A Free Church in a Free State." This was and is the supreme contribution of American Christianity to the Holy Catholic Church, and an illustration of how God overrules evil for good.

"In most cases where spiritual jurisdiction has been established or defined, such has been the connection between church and state, that it was scarcely possible to adopt measures, which did not show some traces of accommodation to political views; but this may be avoided in the present instance, where all denominations of Christians are on a level, and no church is farther known to the public, than as a voluntary association of individuals, for a lawful and useful purpose. The effect of this should be the avoiding of whatever may give the churches the appearance of being subservient to party, or tend to unite their members on questions of a civil nature. This is unquestionably agreeable to the simplicity of the gospel; it is conceived to be also, under the present circumstances, agreeable to good policy; for whatever church shall aim at such subjects, unless on account of an invasion of their religious privileges, will be suspected by all others, as aiming at the exclusive government of the country."

Dr. White next outlines the proper position of the laity in the new order of things. The lay voice in ecclesiastical affairs has hitherto been exercised through Parliament. This is now impossible, and he enunciates a fundamental principle of the organization of the American Church, supported by references to the judicious Hooker: the *direct representation of the laity in the councils of the Church*.

"The power of electing a superior order of ministers ought to be in the clergy and laity together, they being both interested in the choice. In England, the bishops are appointed by the civil authority; which was an usurpation of the crown at the Norman conquest, but since confirmed by acts of parlia-

ment. The primitive churches were generally supplied by popular elections; even in the city of Rome, the privilege of electing the bishop continued with the people to the tenth or eleventh century; and near those times there are resolves of councils, that none should be promoted to ecclesiastical dignities, but by election of the clergy and people. . . .

“Deprivation of the superior order of clergy should also be in the church at large. . . .”

Chapter Two closes with support of the principle of “the equality of the churches; and not, as in England, the subjection of all parish churches to their respective cathedrals.” Furthermore, it is urged that in any association of churches, each church will retain “every power that need not be delegated to the whole.” Since any provision for the support of bishops is quite unlikely of immediate realization, it is suggested that “the duty assigned to that order ought not materially to interfere with their employments, in the station of parochial clergy; the superintendence of each will therefore be confined to a small district; a favorite idea with all moderate Episcopalians.”

### *Chapter III*

In this chapter the young author offers a “sketch of a frame of government:”

“As the churches in question extend over an immense space of country, it can never be expected, that representatives from each church should assemble in one place; it will be more convenient for them to associate in small districts, from which representatives may be sent to three different bodies, the continent being supposed divided into that number of larger districts. From these may be elected a body representing the whole.

“In each smaller district, there should be elected a general vestry or convention, consisting of a convenient number (the minister to be one) from the vestry or congregation of each church, or of every two or more churches, according to their respective ability of supporting a minister. They should elect a clergyman their permanent president; who, in conjunction with other clergymen to be also appointed by the body, may exercise such powers as are purely spiritual, particularly that of admitting to the ministry; the presiding clergyman, and others to be liable to be deprived for just causes, by a fair process, and under reasonable laws; meetings to be held as occasion may require.

“The assemblies in the three larger districts may consist of a convenient number of members, sent from each of the smaller districts severally within their bounds, equally com-

posed of clergy and laity, and voted for by these orders promiscuously; the presiding clergyman to be always one, and these bodies to meet once in every year.

"The continental representative body may consist of a convenient number from each of the larger districts, formed equally of clergy and laity, and among the clergy, formed equally of presiding ministers and others; to meet statedly once in three years. The use of this and the preceding representative bodies is to make such regulations, and receive appeals in such matters only, as shall be judged necessary for their continuing one religious communion."

Whether statesmanship or prophecy or both, the above exposition of a possible form of church government is little short of amazing. Here you have the Church of today, as we know it. The parish, the diocese, the province, and General Convention are all here. The province alone was slow in making its appearance in the American Church, not being provided for in the constitution and canons until 1913, one hundred and thirty years after Dr. White advocated its set-up.

Turning to the subject of doctrinal subscription, *The Case* had this to suggest:

"For the doctrinal part, it would perhaps be sufficient to demand of all admitted to the ministry, or engaged in ecclesiastical legislation, the questions contained in the book of ordination; which extend no farther than an acknowledgment of the scriptures, as a rule of faith and life; yet some general sanction may be given to the thirty-nine articles of religion, so as to adopt their leading sense; which is here proposed rather as a chain of union, than for exacting entire uniformity of sentiment. If the last be considered as a desirable object, the articles have undeniably been found insufficient for the purpose; which is not here said from an opinion that such was the intention of the compilers, but rather with a conviction that they designedly left room for a considerable latitude of sentiment; if to the above there be objected the danger of a public opposition between ministers, this obvious answer may be made; that the strictest tests ever devised cannot be so effectual to prevent such conduct. . . ."

In view of the ill-fated *Proposed Prayer Book of 1785*, Dr. White's views on prayer book revision as stated in *The Case* are pertinent. We can perceive thus early his earnest desire to maintain the unity of the Church and do nothing to jeopardize it.

"As to divine worship, there must no doubt be somewhere the power of making necessary and convenient alterations in the service of the church. But it ought to be used with great

moderation; otherwise the communion will become divided into an infinite number of smaller ones, all differing from one another and from that in England; from whence we may expect considerable numbers to migrate hereafter to this country; who if they find too wide a deviation from the ancient practice, will probably form an independent communion of their own. Whatever may in other respects be determined on this head, it is presumed the Episcopalians are generally attached to that characteristic of their communion, which prescribes a settled form of prayer."

In regard to discipline, the author quotes with approval the observation of the then Bishop of St. Asaph: "the great art of governing consists in not governing too much."

Perhaps it would be sufficient, if an immoral life were followed by exclusion from the sacrament and ecclesiastical employment; deprivation from church benefices following of course. . . . As to excommunication or an entire separation from the church, however necessary it was in the primitive ages, when christianity itself, being not generally known, and misrepresented as a sanction for lewdness, treason and clandestine murders, must have been essentially wounded by the immoralities of any of its professors; there is great room to doubt of their being the same use in it at present, when the vices of the professing christian are universally known to be opposite to the precepts of his religion. Such are the tyranny and hypocrisy too frequently arising from the exercise of this power, that it may be thought safest to leave men to those great sanctions of duty, the will of God and a future retribution; attended as they will generally be with a sense of shame, dissuading from actions so notoriously scandalous, as to be a foundation for church censures."

#### *Chapter IV*

In this chapter the author takes up the discussion of Episcopacy, about which discussion had raged in the American colonies for seventy-five years previously. And it was his proposed solution of this problem which brought down on his head the suspicion of the New England clergy.

The argument of this chapter is dual and, at first glance, contradictory: he expounds a skillful defence of Episcopacy in a republic; and proposes, on the ground of necessity, the continuation of the ministry without it.

He first states two facts: (1) the Episcopal Churches "on no occasion expressed a dissatisfaction with Episcopacy," in spite of many inconveniences such as sending their candidates three thousand miles



for ordination, and this "is a presumptive proof of their preferring the Episcopal government;" (2) "there cannot be produced an instance of laymen in America . . . soliciting the introduction of a bishop," probably due to a fear that "the civil powers vested in bishops in England would accompany that order to America", which would be dangerous and destructive to the civil rights of the laity.

"From these two facts it may fairly be inferred, that the Episcopalians on this continent will wish to institute among themselves an Episcopal government, as soon as it shall appear practicable, and that this government will not be attended with the danger of tyranny, either temporal or spiritual.

"But it is generally understood, that the succession cannot at present be obtained. From the parent church most unquestionably it cannot; whether from any is presumed to be more than we can at present be informed."

Such being the situation, "that the succession cannot at present be obtained," he proposes his solution:

"The conduct meant to be recommended, as founded on the preceding sentiments, is to include in the proposed frame of government a general approbation of Episcopacy, and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession, as soon as conveniently may be; but in the mean time to carry the plan into effect without waiting for the succession."

His defence of the Episcopate is an answer to the charge, expressed or implied by the Church's opponents, that Episcopacy and a republican form of government are incompatible:

"In the minds of some, the idea of Episcopacy will be connected with that of immoderate power; to which it may be answered, that power becomes dangerous, not from the precedency of one man, but from his being independent. Had Rome been governed by a presbytery instead of a bishop; and had that presbytery been invested with the independent riches and dominion of the papal see; it is easy to conceive, of their acquiring as much power over the christian world, as was ever known in a Gregory or a Paul.

"It may be further objected, that Episcopacy is anti-republican; and therefore opposed to those ideas which all good citizens ought to promote, for securing the peace and happiness of the community. But this supposed relation between Episcopacy and monarchy arises from confounding English Episcopacy with the subject at large. In the early ages of the church, it was customary to debate and determine in a general concourse of all christians in the same city; among whom the Bishop was no more than president. Matters were indeed

too often conducted tumultuously, and after a manner which no prudent and peaceable man would wish to see imitated; but the churches were not the less Episcopal on that account. Very few systems of religious discipline on this continent are equally republican with that proposed in the preceding pages. The adage of King James I., "No Bishop no King," and "No King no Bishop," ought only to be understood concerning that degree of Episcopal power, together with its civil appendages, of which he certainly meant it."

The last two chapters—*V* and *VI*—of *The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered* are devoted to the discussion of the question whether "the dropping the succession even for a time would be a departure from the principles of the Church of England." The author claims: "it will not be difficult to prove, that a temporary departure from Episcopacy in the present instance would be warranted by her doctrines, by her practice, and by the principles on which Episcopal government is asserted;" and the argument proceeds on the ground of necessity—"that ordination by Bishops cannot be had." The distinction is carefully made "between cases where the necessity is real, and those where Episcopacy had been willingly and expressly rejected, as by the people of Scotland and the English dissenters." His argument is buttressed with much learning and many citations from English Divines. But it all hinges on his premise, "the Episcopate cannot be had." Once the premise is rejected or proved untrue, his whole argument in the last two chapters falls to the ground. Dr. White admitted this, and this it is which explains his withdrawal of the pamphlet from distribution.

His reasons for believing, when he wrote *The Case*, that the Episcopate could not be had, are weighty. The Episcopal Church had been in America since 1607 or one hundred and seventy-five years; yet during all that time the government had refused its appeals for bishops. If it refused to allow bishops for the Episcopal Churches in the colonies when they were loyal to the Crown, why should anyone think that the king's government would allow bishops to be consecrated for the American Churches when they were independent of, if not hostile to, the Crown? Dr. White's own explanation was:<sup>25</sup>

"It was an opinion commonly entertained, that if there should be a discontinuance of military operations, it would be without the acknowledgment of independence, as happened after the severance of the Netherlands from the Crown of Spain. Of the like issue there seemed probable causes, in the feelings attendant on disappointed efforts for conquest; and in

<sup>25</sup>"MS. *Note on the Church in America*," by William White.

the belief cherished that the successes of the former colonists would be followed by dissensions, including return to the domination of the mother country. Had the war ended in that way, our obtaining of the succession from England would have been hopeless. The remnant of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, laboring under penal laws not executed, would not have ventured the bringing down on themselves of the arm of government. Fear of the like offence would have operated in any other quarter to which we might have had recourse. In such a case, the obtaining the succession in time to save us from ruin, would seem to have been impossible."

The influence of *The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered* was profound, and generally in two opposite directions. Among the moderate Episcopalians and among those outside the Church, it went far to allay popular prejudices and correct unreasonable misconceptions, which otherwise might have seriously hindered the revival and organization of the American Church. The conciliatory tone, the freedom from arrogance, and the manifest learning of the writer, in view of the existing state of public and ecclesiastical affairs, helped mightily to remove misunderstanding and to prevent misrepresentation.

In the North, especially among the clergy of Connecticut, *The Case* had the opposite effect: it alarmed them; it made them suspicious of William White; it stirred them to action. Not for one moment would they accept his premise, "Bishops cannot be had"; and not even waiting for the final Treaty of Peace, they gathered secretly at Woodbury on March 25, 1783, and elected Jeremiah Leaming and Samuel Seabury as their choices for the Episcopate. The American Church's first bishop could not be had from the Church of England, but in the person of Samuel Seabury was had from the non-juring bishops of the Scottish Church.

Not content with electing a bishop and keeping that fact such a secret from Dr. White that he never even heard of their action until over a year later (at the meeting in New Brunswick, May 11, 1784), the clergy of Connecticut empowered their secretary, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, to address to Dr. White a letter of remonstrance, dated March 25, 1783, which took the author of *The Case* severely to task.<sup>26</sup>

The letter admits "that the chain which connected this with the Mother-Church is broken;" and that "the American Church is now left to stand in its own strength." It deprecates "as premature and of dangerous consequence" any proposal to enter upon a "change in its regulations" till there are "resident bishops (if they can be obtained)

<sup>26</sup>For the complete text of the letter, see Bishop White's "Memoirs of the Church, Second Edition, pp. 282-286; DeCosta Edition, pp. 336-340.

to assist" in effecting the "new union in the American Church" which should take the place of the old connection with Great Britain. It assails with warmth the proposition to effect an organization and a "frame of government" without the presence of the Episcopal order. In regards "the general approbation of episcopacy," and "the declaration of an intention to procure the succession as soon as conveniently may be," as occasioned rather by policy than principle. It argues that the author of *The Case* would not have "proposed to set up the ministry without waiting for the succession," if he had "believed the Episcopal superiority to be an ordinance of Christ, with the exclusive authority of ordination and government." It claims that "an Episcopal Church without Episcopacy," if not "a contradiction in terms," would certainly be "a new thing under the sun."

It proceeds to discuss the concessions with respect to Presbyterian ordination made by "the venerable Hooker" and others, and to combat the plea of "necessity," claiming that the succession was "as essential to the Church as the sacraments." It argues that "it has been the constant opinion of our Church in England and here, that the Episcopal superiority is an ordinance of Christ," and it appeals to "the uniform practice of the whole American Church, for near a century, sending their candidates three thousand miles for Holy Orders," as "more than a presumptive proof that the Church here" has ever held "this opinion." The instances of occasional toleration in the Church of Presbyterian ordination, it is urged, have been explained and "answered again and again." It submits that "our Church has ever believed bishops to have the sole right of ordination and government, and that this regimen was appointed by Christ Himself," and adds that those who advocate even a "temporary departure" from this rule, and thus "set aside the ordinance of Christ for conveniency," "scarcely deserve the name of Christians."

"Can we plead necessity with any propriety, till we have tried to obtain an Episcopate, and have been rejected? We conceive the present to be a more favourable opportunity for the introduction of bishops, than this country has before seen. However dangerous bishops formerly might have been thought to the civil rights of these states, this danger has now vanished, for such superiors will have no civil authority. They will be purely ecclesiastics. The states have now risen to sovereign authority, and bishops will be equally under the control of civil law with other clergymen; no danger, then, can be feared from bishops, but such as may be feared from presbyters. This being the case, have we not the highest reason to hope, that the whole civil authority upon the continent, (should their assistance be needed) will unite their influence with the Church, to procure



an office so essential to it, and to render complete a profession, which contains so considerable a proportion of its inhabitants. And on the other hand, is there any reason to believe, that all the bishops in England, and in all the other reformed Churches in Europe, are so totally lost to a sense of their duty, and to the real wants of their brethren in the Episcopal Church here, as to refuse to ordain bishops to preside over us, when a proper application shall be made to them for it?"

In this "frank and brotherly way" the Connecticut clergy sought to express their "opinion of the mistaken and dangerous tendency of the pamphlet." The letter concludes with these words:

"We fear, should the scheme of it be carried into execution in the southern states, it will create divisions in the Church at a time when its whole strength depends upon its unity: for we know it is totally abhorrent from the principles of the Church in the northern states, and are fully convinced they will never submit to it. And indeed should we consent to a temporary departure from Episcopacy, there would be very little propriety in asking for it afterwards, and as little reason ever to expect it in America. Let us all then unite as one man to improve this favourable opportunity, to procure an object so desirable and so essential to the Church."

Dr. White's comment upon this letter is instructive:<sup>27</sup>

"There pervades it the defect, of not distinguishing between the then state of public concerns, and as they stood when the pamphlet was published. Nearly a year, and the acknowledgment of independence had intervened. The intimation in the letter, that the author of the pamphlet regarded Episcopacy no further than that for the satisfying of the people, the prospect was to be held out of obtaining it at a future time, would have been wounding to his feelings, had his brethren of Connecticut possessed a knowledge of him. They were, at that time, strangers to one another. The intimated suspicion was then resolved, and is now resolved by him on whom it fell, into a difference of apprehension as to the means of accomplishing the same end."

Judging by what has survived, Dr. White's correspondence following the publication of the pamphlet must have reached some proportions. The Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis of New York<sup>28</sup>, the Rev. Alexander Murray, formerly of Reading, Pennsylvania, but then in England, the Rev.

<sup>27</sup>*Memoirs*, 2nd edition, p. 91.

<sup>28</sup>The Inglis letters to White which have survived are given in full in Lydeker, "The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis," S. P. C. K. & Macmillan, 1936, pp. 225-249.

Dr. Duché (also in England), the Rev. Abraham Beach, and probably many others discussed the various phases of *The Case*. We shall have to be content with one quotation from Mr. Beach of New Brunswick, under date of April 13, 1784: first, because it was temperate; and second, because it represents the opinion which was eventually to prevail:<sup>29</sup>

"I am much obliged to you for the pamphlet you was so kind to send me. I had the Pleasure of reading it on its first Publication, and am happy to agree with you in every particular, except the *necessity* of receding from ancient usages. If this necessity existed in time of *war*, I cannot think that it does at present; and as you convey the same idea in yr. letter, I flatter myself our sentiments on Church Government entirely agree."

To the principles set forth in this pamphlet Bishop White clung with characteristic consistency to the latest years of his long and honored life. In a note appended in 1830 to the autobiographical sketch written for Bishop Hobart, he thus alludes to this production of his youth:

"In agreement with the sentiments expressed in this pamphlet, I am still of opinion that in an exigency in which a duly authorized ministry cannot be obtained, the paramount duty of preaching the Gospel, and the worshipping of God on the terms of the Christian Covenant, should go on in the best manner which circumstances permit. In regard to Episcopacy, I think that it should be sustained as the government of the Church from the time of the Apostles, but without criminating the ministry of other churches, as is the course taken by the Church of England."

Dr. White may have been mistaken in thinking, even during the war, that the Episcopate could not be obtained; he may have been, and probably was, too optimistic in thinking that, once the ministry was continued without Episcopal ordination, bishops could later be introduced (the history of the Lutheran Churches in America, sprung from the Episcopal Churches of Scandania, is against him here;) nevertheless, if the Episcopate could not have been had, unless the daughter churches of the Church of England were to become totally extinct, some such provision as he proposed must necessarily have been carried into effect.

But a still larger observation obtrudes. In the great crises of the Anglican Communion—at the Reformation, following the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, after the War of Independence—"a great door and effectual is opened" by which the Episcopate, together with the

<sup>29</sup>Letter quoted in full in Perry, "*Historical Notes and Documents*," p. 11.

Historic Ministry, is preserved. To the historian with an admittedly religious bias, this is nothing less than providential and bespeaks a unique mission of the Anglican Communion within the Holy Catholic Church and to the world.

As for William White, *The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered* made him a marked man. The old and experienced are found turning to this young priest of thirty-four; they are found waiting for his advice, or seeking to influence his action. Nothing could be more evident than that he was already a *primus inter pares*.

## V. DR. WHITE'S CHURCHMANSHIP

Dr. White's churchmanship has been a good deal of a puzzle to historians. In discussing this subject, we shall have to transgress the proper chronological limits of this article and take into consideration his later years, particularly those of his later episcopate.

He cordially disliked nineteenth century Evangelicalism, and was roundly abused by many of its proponents in Pennsylvania. Yet, when Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, then rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, and a leader of the Evangelicals, was encountering intense outside hostility in 1829, Bishop White gave him his moral support in striking fashion:<sup>30</sup>

"On the first Sunday evening on which I opened my third service . . . just before I began the reading of the service, the tall and venerable form of Bishop White was seen walking up our middle aisle, with his cane in his hand, and his green spectacles on his eyes. He came up to the chancel, and laid his hat and cane down upon the cushion, and seated himself quietly in a chair. It was a most generous defence—as much as to say, 'Whosoever contends with this young man must also fight with me.' This he continued regularly on Sunday evenings, and gave me the full benefit of his paternal defence, completely protecting me and establishing me in my work."

On the other hand, we know that he often voted with the High Churchmen; that the apple of his eye was John Henry Hobart, militant High Churchman of New York; that he maintained a large and intimate correspondence with him<sup>31</sup>; that he influenced and was influenced by Hobart; and that he had, probably, a beneficial restraining influence on Hobart's impulsive nature, compelling the latter to think through his positions. Bishop White had for many years among his

<sup>30</sup>"Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D.," New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1890, pp. 93-94.

<sup>31</sup>See: Bird Wilson, "Memoir of Bishop White," p. 228 and pp. 364-399.

more famous assistants in the United Churches, and to whom he was much attached, Jackson Kemper and William Heathcote De Lancey, both Hobartian High Churchmen and both later distinguished in the episcopate. When Bishop Hobart died, Bishop White said:

"During my long life, Sir, I have not known any work of death, exterior to the circle of my own family, so afflictive to me as the present. I have known, and had occasion to remark, the character of my now deceased friend from his early boyhood, and can truly say that I have never known any man on whose integrity and conscientiousness of conduct I have had more full reliance than on his. In contemplating what must be the brevity of my stay in this vale of tears, it has been a gratification to me to expect that I should leave behind me a brother whose zeal and labors were a pledge that he would not cease to be efficient in extending our Church, and in the preservation of her integrity. But a higher disposal has forbidden the accomplishment of my wishes; much, as I verily believe, to his gain, although greatly to our loss and that of the Church."<sup>32</sup>

As to White's view of the Episcopate, there appears to have been a considerable change of opinion on his part between 1783 and thirty years later. In the New York Historical Society's Library there is a letter, dated October 22, 1783, from Charles Inglis, then rector of Trinity Church, New York, and later first Bishop of Nova Scotia, in which he replies to a letter from White, and from which Inglis quotes White's words as follows:<sup>33</sup>

As to "the Obligation of the Episcopal Succession," which you say "you never could find sufficient arguments to satisfy you of," I need only declare that I am perfectly clear and decided in my Judgment of it.

In other words, at this time (1783), White "could never find sufficient arguments to satisfy him of the obligation of Episcopal Succession."

Contrast this position with that which Bishop Hobart interpreted Bishop White's position to be in 1813 and later, as contained in the following letter of Bishop Hobart to Bishop White; and in which also there are some elements of humor:<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup>John McVickar, *"The Professional Years of John Henry Hobart, D.D.,"* New York, 1836, p. 209.

<sup>33</sup>J. W. Lydekker, *"The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis,"* S. P. C. K., London; Macmillan, New York. 1936. Pp. 230 ff.

<sup>34</sup>John McVickar, *ibid*, pp. 363-365.



New-York, February 28, 1816.

Right Rev. and dear Sir,

Your letter of the 19th and 20th instant, arrived during my absence in Connecticut . . .

For the information contained in your letter I feel myself exceedingly obliged to you, but I am surprised, and somewhat mortified, because it was sincerely an object with me to express myself in a way to escape your disapprobation. With respect to the Episcopacy, I think it the easiest thing in the world to take your seventh lecture, in your work on the Catechism<sup>35</sup>, and justify by it all that I have said. At the sentences at the bottom of page 157, and continued at page 158, you certainly avow it the sentiment of our Church, that bishops, priests, and deacons are of divine appointment. You renew the same sentiment in the last sentence of the second paragraph at page 158. At the end of the next paragraph, you speak of succession as the only mode of transmitting that ministry which is of divine institution. At the end of the paragraph in the 160th page, you speak of the door of entry opened by the Head of the Church as the only one through which the character of a pastor in the Church can be obtained. In this lecture, and your dissertation on Episcopacy, you prove, at great length, that the order of bishops is of divine institution. Now a convert to your opinions, who believes that there is no ministry but of divine institution—no divine institution where there is not succession, and that bishops, possessing the power of ordination, are of divine institution, and thus the line in which the succession was originally placed, would, I humbly conceive, find it very difficult to prove that these divine institutions, relative to the ministry might be altered, and yet the ministry remain in its essential powers; and would be much at a loss to reconcile, with these high church notions, the concessions which seem to me to make Episcopacy pretty much a matter of human expediency. It is now more than twenty years since I have labored with great sincerity, and with intense thought, to reconcile your *principles*, with respect to Episcopacy, with your *concessions*, and, unfortunately, the more I think, the more distant I seem from my object. Still, Right Rev. and dear Sir, such is my veneration for you, early impressed; growing with the growth, and strengthening with the strength of years, and such the extreme pain and hesitation with which I differ from you, that I am always cautious of expressing that difference, even where it exists. And, therefore, I avoided in my charge stating that Episcopacy was “obligatory, like the sacraments, at all times, and under all circumstances” (White’s *Catechism*, p. 173); or that there was no exception to my principle of its unalterable obligation “in cases of imperious necessity” (Ibid, p. 425). A thing may be, in general, I conceive, unalterably

<sup>35</sup>William White, “*Lectures on the Catechism of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with supplementary lectures: On the Ministry, etc.*” Philadelphia, 1813.

binding, and yet, may be dispensed with in cases of imperious necessity.

Very sincerely, &c.

J. H. Hobart.

Eighteen years later, in his Charge of 1834, "The Past and the Future," Bishop White said:

"It was expedient briefly to lay the ground for the charge to be now given, with the hope of its being acted on by those who shall be associated with or shall succeed us in the ministry, that they may consistently sustain this point of the divine institution of the Episcopacy, not accommodating, in the least degree, to the contrary opinion. When this characteristic of our communion is lost sight of, under any specious plea of accommodation to popular prejudice, instead of being conciliatory, as is imagined, it brings conflicting opinions into view, to the loss of Christian charity; or, if this be not the consequence, to the sacrifice of a truth of Scripture."

It is the considered opinion of the American Episcopal Church's great historian,<sup>36</sup>

"That with further study and added years of experience and investigating his views of the obligation of the threefold ministry and the historic Episcopate strengthened, is equally certain."

One who was in a position to understand Bishop White's churchmanship was his coadjutor and successor in the see of Pennsylvania, Dr. Henry U. Onderdonk, who, writing in 1847, described it as follows:<sup>37</sup>

"Bishop White's theological opinions are contained in his several works—they were decidedly Anti-Calvinistic, and may be classed with what was currently denominated *Arminianism* in the last century; which, however, you are aware, was not the system of Arminius. He was, to the last, strongly opposed to the theory comprised in the words *Priest, Altar, Sacrifice*; this being one of the very few points on which he was highly sensitive. The good Bishop's ecclesiastical views were those known in *history* as Low-church—it was not the Low-churchmanship<sup>38</sup> of the present day, but that of Tillotson, Burnet, and that portion of the English Divines with which they were associated. He regarded with no favour stimulating methods,

<sup>36</sup>William Stevens Perry, "The General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the American Church," New York, Thomas Whittaker, 1891, p. 33.

<sup>37</sup>Wm. B. Sprague, "Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit," New York, Robert Carter & Brothers, 1859, pp. 284-5.

<sup>38</sup>i. e., not 19th century Evangelicalism.

extempore prayer, deviations from the Liturgy, &c. Yet, though stern against the Priestly doctrine, as well as decidedly averse to modern Low-churchmanship, he was, on the one hand, most particularly attached to Bishop Hobart, and very largely under his influence, except in the few matters of which he was eminently tenacious; while, on the other hand, he was not only courteous, but altogether friendly with leaders on the opposite side. In which facts may plainly enough be read the almost unbounded amiableness of his temper and principles."

Dr. White was essentially throughout his life an eighteenth century Low Churchman who, in certain matters such as the Episcopate and the Ministry, developed or matured to a point where he *approached*, but was never completely aligned with, the Hobartian High Churchmanship of the nineteenth century.

## VI. MEASURES FOR ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH

Before considering this important subject and William White's influence in the process, it is imperative that we have a clear idea of the state of the Church at the time. Otherwise, we are too likely to assume, consciously or unconsciously, that the Church in 1784 (for this is the year we shall select for our description) was comparable in strength and prestige with the Episcopal Church of today. Such was not the case. The Church one hundred fifty years ago was lamentably weak and suffered from the War of Independence more than any other religious body.

We are very fortunate in having a very accurate description of the state of the Church in New England as described in a letter of the Rev. Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, to Dr. White, written June 21, 1784:<sup>39</sup>

"We are indeed but five in Number, for when the British Troops evacuated this Town in March 1776, all the Episcopal Clergy in this Town myself excepted and many from the other Towns accompanied them and have never since returned. Indeed, but two others remained in the whole Government, these were the Revd. Mr. Bass of Newburyport who was a Missionary from the Society, but now for reasons unknown dismissed their Service, and Revd. Mr. Wheeler, who was an Assistant to the Rector of Trinity Church in Newport, Rhode Island; the latter being a native of the Province, upon the breaking out of the War retired to a small patrimony in the Vicinity of this Town and did not officiate at all till within a Twelvemonth past he was invited to the churches in Scituate and Marshfield in the County of Plymouth. Since the War two Clergymen

<sup>39</sup>Perry's "*Historical Notes and Documents*," pp. 57-58.

have settled in this State, Revd. Mr. Lewis, who was Chaplain in Burgoyne's Regiment of light Dragoons, left that Service and came to this Town in 1778 and settled at Christ's Church ;

The other, the Revd. Mr. Fisher, who came from Annapolis in Nova Scotia in 1780 and settled in Salem. The oldest Church in this Town, formerly known by the Name of King's Chapel is now supplied by a Lay Reader who is a Candidate for holy Orders.<sup>40</sup> There are five or six other Churches in some of which lay readers now officiate. In the State of New Hampshire, there are but two Episcopal Churches, one at Portsmouth the metropolis of the Government, where there has been no clergyman since the War, the other in a new Settlement in the western part of the State<sup>41</sup> where a Missionary from the Society in England is now resident. In the State of Rhode Island are three Churches only, exclusive of one at Bristol which was burnt by the British. In neither of these is there a Clergyman in holy Orders, but in two of them there are Lay Readers who are candidates. Mr. Graves Missionary from the Society still resides at Providence but has not officiated since the commencement of the War. The State of Connecticut contains the greatest Number of Episcopal Churches of any of the New England States. There are now fourteen missionaries from the Society besides seven other Clergymen not in their service. This, Sir, is a brief State of the Episcopal Church in the four Northern Governments which are contained in what is called New England. I flatter myself this account will not be disagreeable nor perhaps useless to you in your future Consultations representing the Episcopal Church in America."

In New York the situation was only beginning to be encouraging. The sharp struggle in Trinity Parish between the Whigs and the Tories had resulted in the control of the former; Abraham Beach of New Brunswick had been called in as peacemaker, Samuel Provoost had been elected rector, and Benjamin Moore had with Christian humility accepted his demotion to assistant, with Beach as the third member of the staff. Only three other clergymen—Joshua Bloomer, Leonard Cutting, Thomas Moore—attended the interstate convention of October, 1784.

The state of the church in New Jersey was pathetic. Abraham Beach, the ablest man in active service, was leaving for New York; William Ayers of Freehold was just recovering from an attack of insanity; William Frazer had been stripped by the revolutionists and was afflicted with intemperance; Uzal Ogden's loyalty to the Church was already suspected. Dr. Thomas B. Chandler of Elizabeth did not return from England until 1785, after a residence abroad of ten years.

<sup>40</sup>*James Freeman, who was never ordained on account of Arianism and King's Chapel became a Unitarian meeting house which it is to this day.*

<sup>41</sup>*Claremont, N. H.*



Afflicted with cancer of the face he was unable to do much except to use his weighty influence in behalf of the rights and dignity of the episcopate and against a too preponderant power of the laity in the councils of the Church. He died in 1790, next to Talbot New Jersey's most distinguished Colonial presbyter.

As to the state of the Church in Pennsylvania we are in no doubt. We have Dr. White's own testimony as given in his reply, dated August 10, 1784, to Parker's letter quoted above:<sup>42</sup>

"Those of us who were settled in this State before ye war are Mr. Currie of Chester County whose Age & Infirmities prevent his officiating, Mr. Elling of Caernavon, & myself. During ye War, ye revd. Dr. Magaw (formerly Missionary in Delaware) settled as Rector of St. Paul's in this City, & Mr. Blackwell (formerly Missionary in Jersey) settled as Asst. to me in ye United Churches. Since ye Peace we have ye accession of Mr. Hutchins in Lancaster & Mr. Campbell at Yorktown; ye former a Native & late Resident of Barbadoes but educated in this City & ye latter a Native of this State who went for Orders in 1772, where he has resided untill his late Return."

In Delaware only two clergymen—Charles Henry Wharton and Sydenham Thorne—appear to have been on duty in parishes. In 1786 Samuel Roe became rector of Dover and died there 1791. No diocesan convention of organization was held until 1786.

In Maryland some eighteen or nineteen clergymen were in active service in 1784. Due to the vigorous leadership of such men as Dr. William Smith, Samuel Keene, and William West, the threatened Erastianism of the state legislature was warded off, and active measures for the organization of the Church were early taken.

In Virginia conditions were bad but the worst was yet to be. Although more than fifty of the clergy in parishes in 1776 were still in charge of parishes in 1787, they were cowed by the dominance of the House of Burgesses over the Church, and disestablishment was to make the state of the Church in Virginia most precarious. David Griffith in a letter to White, July 26, 1784, made this significant statement:<sup>43</sup>

"In the Present State of Ecclesiastical affairs in this State, the Clergy could not, with propriety, and indeed without great danger to the Church, empower any Persons to agree to the least alteration whatever. I shall be able to explain to you the necessity of their acting with this caution when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you."

In North Carolina the Church was almost a total wreck. In spite

<sup>42</sup>Perry, *"Historical Notes and Documents,"* p. 61.

<sup>43</sup>Perry, *ibid.*, p. 46.

of the fact that no clergyman of the Church of England in North Carolina was ever an active loyalist, and most of them were ardent supporters of the Revolution, efforts to form a diocese did not result in any meetings until 1790, and they were in vain. In 1794 the Rev. Charles Pettigrew was elected Bishop of North Carolina, but was never consecrated. No clergymen were listed in the Journals of General Convention as being resident there until that of 1817. In that year one lay deputy made his appearance as representing North Carolina in General Convention. There were no clerical deputies until 1820.

In South Carolina fifteen out of the twenty clergymen had embraced the cause of independence. But no other state was so completely overrun by the British forces and the effects—economically, politically, socially and ecclesiastically—were most destructive. Great bitterness against all things British prevailed. No more aid for churches was forthcoming from the government. The clergy were few in number and were no longer allowed salaries by law. Twenty-two parishes were entitled to representation in diocesan convention but only eight on an average were represented at conventions beginning in 1785 for the next thirty years.

Such were the conditions which faced William White and the other leaders in their efforts to save the Church from extinction and set her on a new and untried path. To estimate faithfully the influence of any one leader in a corporate action such as the organization of the Church is very difficult. If we are sympathetic with the subject of our biography, we are likely to claim for him too much; if we are unfriendly, we are liable to allow too little. But this much we can claim with truth and justice for William White: he was the principal clearing house for correspondence from North and South; he was in the center of all main currents and most cross-currents involving plans for the organization of the American Church. His correspondence during the critical years from 1782 to 1789 was enormous, and it is largely due to his historical sense that so much of it has been preserved. Unfortunately his colleagues who received his letters were not so careful to preserve them or to hand them on to later generations as he was with theirs. In the late Dr. Perry's *Historical Notes and Documents* some 340 pages, covering the years from 1784 through 1786, are given to reprints of the correspondence and official documents involved in the preliminary organization of the Church. Most of this correspondence is between White and the other leaders of the Church in this crucial era. Our foremost historian pays this tribute to White which is almost a classic:<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup>William Stevens Perry, "The History of the American Episcopal Church," Boston, J. R. Osgood & Co., 1885, Vol. II, pp. 19-20.

“Nor was this all (*The Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered* and the organization of the Pennsylvania Convention) that the earnest and laborious White contributed to the general organization of our Church. There were letters, written at length and in detail,—letters still remaining, and, from the faded yellow foolscap pages and well-formed characters, abounding in the quaint contractions, betokening the hurry and drive of a wearisome correspondence, speaking to us again and again of the love and interest felt by this excellent man in the successful working out of his plans for good for the Church of Christ. These letters, borne by post or packet, to Parker, in Boston, and through him to Bass, at Newburyport, and even to the then destitute parish at Falmouth, just reviving from the ashes of the bombardment, and, as yet, unable to secure or support a clergyman; finding their way to New York, where the patriot Whigs were busied in measures for the election of Provoost to the rectorship of Trinity and the episcopate of that State; easily carried by water to the excellent Wharton, at Wilmington, in Delaware, where the first convert from Romanism to the Protestant faith in our American Church was beginning a life-long work of faithful labors in his new ecclesiastical home; borne on the great mail roads to the thoughtful William West, in Baltimore, one of the most earnest-minded and best of men; taken by coach to Chestertown, in Maryland, where the indefatigable Smith, driven from one college, had speedily inaugurated another of reputation and success; pressing further, by winding roads and water-courses, to Fairfax, in Virginia, where the pious Griffith was laboring in his pleasant parish, unconscious of the trials that awaited him in his struggle for the episcopate; and reaching even South Carolina, where Purcell, an interested correspondent of the painstaking White, received them with mingled hopes and fears as to his chance for a mitre;—these letters, in a day when newspaper and penny posts were never dreamed of by the most sanguine of correspondents, were the great stimulants to flagging exertions, and the cause, we may not doubt, of success in quarters where any other pen would have found no such response. And, borne across the water in the heavy mail-bags of slowly-sailing packets, they conveyed to old friends and new ones tokens of church life in our western hemisphere, where many anxious hearts had feared that life was all crushed out. Surely, then, as there are piled around us, while we write, volume after volume of these carefully considered letters, ever fresh in their expressions, and fair in their swift chirography, we cannot withhold from White—the patient, laborious, loving father of our revived, reorganized Church—our highest meed of praise with an ever-deepening respect, an ever increasing honor.”

## THE MAKING OF THE CHURCH'S CONSTITUTION

The *making* of the constitution of the American Episcopal Church was a process or development prepared for in the colonial period by the experience gained through local and intercolonial meetings of the clergy, especially in the North; and following the War, by nine years (1780-1789) of state and interstate conventions and meetings. Because of the limits of space and because the process extended into the period of Dr. White's episcopate, we shall have to content ourselves with a mere catalogue of these post-war conventions. Even such a catalogue is impressive for it will show that the constitution, under which the Church has lived and grown with considerable satisfaction for a century and a half, did not spring full-formed from the head of Jove, but rather it came from God through the minds and experience of godly men and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The summary which we are now able to give is more complete than has hitherto been possible in the last one hundred and fifty years because of the recent recovery and publication of the original minutes of the Connecticut conventions.<sup>45</sup>

1. About one year before the surrender of Cornwallis, on November 9, 1780, the first Maryland convention of three clergymen and twenty-four laymen assembled at Chestertown on the Eastern Shore to petition the General Assembly of Maryland "for the support of public religion." The name "Protestant Episcopal" was formally adopted as the name of the Church in Maryland.

2. Ten of the fourteen clergy then resident in Connecticut gathered in secret meeting at Woodbury on March 25, 1783, and elected Dr. Samuel Seabury as their choice for the episcopate, no laymen being present and the meeting was secret for fear that the old opposition to an American Episcopate, so general among the colonists before the Revolution, might be aroused. Dr. Seabury was consecrated by the bishops of the Scottish Church on November 14, 1784.

3. On August 13, 1783, another convention of fifteen clergymen, but no laymen, of Maryland, resulted in the adoption of the famous "Declaration of certain fundamental Rights and Liberties of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Maryland," and the election of the Rev. Dr. William Smith as Bishop of the Church in Maryland. He was never consecrated.

<sup>45</sup>The original minutes of the Connecticut conventions are now owned by the Rev. Dr. Howard Chandler Robbins, New York City, and were first published in *Historical Magazine* in 1934, Vol. III, pp. 57 ff.

A reprint of the other conventions mentioned herein are to be found in Perry's "Historical Notes and Documents."

For a good exposition of the more important interstate conventions of the period, vide E. C. Chorley, "The General Conventions of 1785, 1786, 1789," *Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV, pp. 246-266.



4. The first *interstate* meeting, consisting of ten of the clergy and six of the laity from New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held in New Brunswick, New Jersey, upon the initiative of the Rev. Abraham Beach, resulted in the adoption of plans for a larger and more representative gathering in New York the following October.

5. The first convention of the Church in Pennsylvania with four clerical and nineteen lay delegates assembled in Philadelphia, May 24th and 25th, 1784, and adopted the influential "Pennsylvania Resolutions."

6. A convention of the clergy in Connecticut on June 8-10, 1784, attended by Beach, Bloomer and Benjamin Moore of New York, agreed to enter into negotiations with other Episcopal churches looking towards union, and accepted the invitation to send delegates to the forthcoming meeting in New York.

7. At the Maryland convention of June 22, 1784, lay delegates were present and after conferring separately, approved the Declaration of Rights adopted by the clerical convention of the previous year. Certain other principles concerning the "future Discipline and Government of this Church" were adopted.

8. The organizing convention of Massachusetts, September 8, 1784, adopted the "Pennsylvania Resolutions" with modifications, appointed a committee of correspondence, authorized a circular letter to the churches in other states, urged the immediate procurement of bishops, and empowered Samuel Parker to attend the New York meeting.

9. The *second interstate* meeting of the Church, consisting of sixteen clergymen from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Delaware, Maryland, and David Griffith as "unofficial observer" from Virginia, and eleven laymen from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, assembled in New York on October 6, 1784, and adopted "fundamental principles" of a "general ecclesiastical constitution."<sup>46</sup>

10. Between the New York meeting of 1784 and the first General Convention of 1785, many state conventions were held and dioceses formally organized. Not content with the number of "fundamental Principles" adopted in June, *Maryland* at the second convention of 1784 on October 26th, proceeded to agree upon "additional Constitutions respecting the future Discipline and Government of this Church in Annual or General Conventions." In *South Carolina* the primary convention convened in Charleston on May 12, 1785, but due to the small representation, consideration of the New York recommendations was adjourned to another meeting on July 12th. Only three clergymen and lay deputies from seven parishes attended. A layman, Hugh Rutledge, served as chairman. Little appears to have been done except to choose

<sup>46</sup>For these in full, see *Historical Magazine*, IV, pp. 251-2.

deputies to the General Convention soon to assemble in Philadelphia. In order to secure compliance with the invitation, the Rev. Robert Smith, destined to be the first Bishop of South Carolina, proposed "that there shall be no bishop settled in that State." This was owing to the prevalent idea that bishops must somehow be connected with the British government and the latter was anathema due to the ravages of the war.

The Church in *Virginia* was at long last allowed by the State to hold a convention and the first one was duly convened on May 18, 1785, lasting through the 25th of that month. Thirty-six clergymen and upwards of seventy laymen attended. They acceded to some of the "fundamental principles" of the New York interstate meeting and rejected others; appointed deputies to the General Convention of 1785 and equipped them with a letter of instructions; adopted some very important canons and chose a *Standing Committee*. Dr. Perry states<sup>47</sup>:

"It is hardly too much to say of it, that in the influence it had upon subsequent legislation of the Church at large—in the principles it enunciates, and in the evidence it affords us of the temper and opinions of Virginia Churchmen of that day, it is second in importance only to that of Maryland."

On May 24, 1785, the Church in *Pennsylvania* was duly organized, an Act of Association was adopted, the New York principles were acceded to, and deputies to the General Convention were appointed.

In *New York*, on June 22, 1785, the primary convention of the Church in that State assembled consisting of five clergymen and eleven laymen. The proceedings of the interstate meeting held in New York the previous fall were acceptable to this convention and three clerical and three lay deputies were appointed to represent the Church in New York at the General Convention called to assemble in Philadelphia in the fall.

*New Jersey's* primary convention assembled in Christ Church, New Brunswick, on July 6, 1785, with three clergymen (Beach coming out from New York to preside) and fourteen laymen, representing eight churches. Four of the clergy (Chandler making the fourth) and six of the laity were appointed deputies to the Philadelphia Convention with power to accede to the fundamental principles of the New York Convention of 1784, "and to adopt such measures, as the said general convention may deem necessary for the utility of the said church, not repugnant to the aforesaid fundamental principles."

11. We come now to the first convention of any church in the United States to be attended by a bishop—that of *Connecticut*, which met August 2-7, 1785, in Middletown. Bishop Seabury returned to

<sup>47</sup>Perry, *Historical Notes and Documents*, p. 51.

America, June 20, 1785, and at this convention he was formally received and assumed his jurisdiction. Immediately following these formalities, the first ordinations to the diaconate and priesthood at the hands of a bishop in the United States of America took place. And this brought the infant Church face to face with a crisis. Would the Church outside of Connecticut accept Dr. Seabury as a Bishop in the Church of God? Would he acknowledge the legislative powers of conventions, state and general, which had no bishop or bishops represented in them? Would there be union or schism? That these questions were answered as we should wish them answered is due under God to two men above all others, namely Bishop Seabury and Dr. White.

Dr. White's influence was by now paramount. We have already seen that his *Case of the Episcopal Churches Considered* precipitated the election of Dr. Seabury to the episcopate by the Connecticut clergy. We know that he was the leading figure in the New Brunswick interstate meeting of 1784; that he initiated the first Pennsylvania convention, and probably drew up the influential "Pennsylvania Resolutions;" that the latter were taken over bodily by the first Massachusetts convention and adopted with slight modifications. So also he was a leading spirit in the New York interstate meeting of 1784 and the second member of the important committee "appointed to essay the fundamental principles of a general Constitution". In the various state conventions of 1785, there was a considerable reflection of White's opinions, although we are not to suppose that he was responsible for or approved of all the measures adopted by them.

A general impression has prevailed that Seabury was pompous, autocratic and intractable; and that he and White, if not hostile to one another, at least stood at opposite ends of the poles in matters ecclesiastical. This impression is so far untrue as to amount almost to a libel. In the first place, Seabury and White were not hostile but friendly. White not only acknowledged immediately the validity of Seabury's consecration, but invited him to be his guest at the forthcoming General Convention. Chandler, who also returned to America in 1785 and who stood generally with Seabury, was also invited to be White's house guest. Under date of August 19, 1785, Bishop Seabury wrote to Dr. White:<sup>48</sup>

"It is a grief to me that I cannot be with you at your ensuing Convention. Neither my circumstances, nor duty will permit it. I am utterly unprovided for so long a journey, not being, at present, master even of a horse."

<sup>48</sup>Perry, *Historical Notes and Documents*, p. 83.

In Chandler's reply of September 20, 1785, he states:<sup>49</sup>

"Were you and I to talk over, at leisure, the business of this Convention, I flatter myself that, afterwards, we should not differ widely in our opinions, upon most of the points in question. . . ."

Then going on to discuss the question of the rights of the laity and the rights of the episcopate, he makes this generous and prophetic statement as expressing the opinion of himself and Bishop Seabury:

"In short, this is a *radical* point, and I entreat you not to give your consent to robbing Episcopacy of its essential rights. I am the more urgent with *you* on this head, as I hope the time is not far distant when I am to see you vested with the Episcopal character. I have often talked the matter over with Bp. Seabury in London; and we both agreed that you were the properest person for the State of Pennsylvania, and, unless we should find ourselves mistaken with regard to your character, which I believe we were not, that we should do all that we consistently could to befriend you in this way."

In the second place, White was the mediator between Seabury and Provoost. The latter's attitude towards Seabury was churlish. In Provoost's eyes, Seabury was guilty of two unforgivable faults—churchmanship and Toryism, and the greater of these was Toryism. Seabury's attitude towards Provoost, on the other hand, was always courteous and forbearing, with a willingness to go to any lengths short of the sacrifice of his convictions to appease him.

In the third place, the differences between Seabury and White on *constitutional* questions were largely ones of emphasis. They were of that fine type who could and did reach a genuine agreement without sacrifice of principles. White's position was essentially this: he was for the direct representation of the laity as well as the clergy, and he was against an autocratic episcopate. Seabury stood for the rights of his own order, the Episcopate, backed up by all New England and such men as Chandler; and he was against the subjection of the episcopate and the clergy to the laity. Both were right and the Church's constitution to this day is the evidence of the meeting of their minds.

What may properly be called the *first* General Convention, that of 1785, since it had duly authorized deputies from seven state conventions, convened in Philadelphia on September 27th with sixteen clerical and twenty-six lay deputies. Bishop Seabury was absent and no representatives—clerical or lay—were present from New England. The fifth article of the "fundamental principles", adopted at the New York

<sup>49</sup>Perry, *ibid*, pp. 84-87.



meeting of 1784, which merely allowed a bishop to be a member *ex-officio* of the convention and made no provision for his presidency, was sharply resented not only by Bishop Seabury and the Connecticut Church, but by Samuel Parker of Boston who had attended the New York meeting. It was considered as degrading to the office of a bishop. Dr. White was elected chairman and David Griffith of Virginia, secretary.

A three-fold task confronted the convention: the formulation of a constitution for the general Church, the compilation or revision of a Book of Common Prayer, and the securing of the episcopate in the English line.

The *proposed* Prayer Book of this convention was wasted effort except to prove beyond doubt that the American Church would not tolerate such a book.

The proposed constitution was also unsatisfactory to both England and New England, the English bishops refusing to consecrate bishops under it because the constitution involved "a degradation of the clerical and still more of the Episcopal character."

Dr. White drafted the letter to the English Archbishops praying for the Episcopate and it is generally conceded to be one of the great "state" papers of the American Church.

The General Convention of 1786 assembled on June 20th in Philadelphia, fourteen clerical and twelve lay deputies being present, New England still being unrepresented. The reply of the English Archbishops was read. It was cordial but cautious and intimated that they had heard of some unacceptable departures from the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, although the proposed Prayer Book had not yet reached them. This reply, coupled with a trenchant memorial from the Convention of the Church in New Jersey, written by Chandler and signed by Beach as president, protesting against and disapproving of much of the proceedings of the Convention of 1785, saved the Church from threatened disunion and produced some salutary changes in the contemplated constitution. Dr. White was the mover of the more significant amendments which provided for the *ex-officio* membership of a bishop in General Convention, and the presidency thereof "if any of the Episcopal order be present;" the trial of a bishop must be conducted in the presence of "one or more of the Episcopal order: and none but a Bishop shall pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry on any Clergyman, whether Bishop, or Presbyter, or Deacon."

The response to the Archbishops' letter was first drafted by Dr. Smith, but being deemed too submissive by John Jay of New York,

later the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, it was altered and improved by Jay and Francis Hopkinson. After adoption as altered, the convention adjourned June 26th to meet in Wilmington when called by the Committee of Correspondence.

Nearly three months after adjournment of this Convention a significant event in our story occurred. In the records of Christ Church, Philadelphia, is to be found the following recognition and appropriate financial action concerning it. It is a model for other parishes whose rectors are elected to the episcopate!<sup>50</sup>

September 14. At a diocesan convention held this day in Christ Church, the Rev. Dr. White is unanimously chosen bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania, and the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds currency is voted to defray the necessary expenses of the voyage of the bishop elect to and from England; and it is further resolved, that the said sum be raised by the several churches in the diocese. Of this sum, one hundred and sixty pounds were to be contributed by the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, as their fair proportion.

The *adjourned* Convention of 1786 convened in Wilmington on October 10th. The Archbishops in their reply to the overtures of the June convention very tactfully intimated that the omission of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds and one article from the Apostles' Creed was unacceptable. They also said that a bill to empower the Archbishop to consecrate to the office of bishop persons not subject to the King of England was about to pass Parliament and receive the royal assent. Before the convention ended, a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated July 4th, arrived stating that the bill had passed Parliament and had been signed by the King.

The convention thereupon restored the Nicene Creed, re-inserted the clause, "He descended into Hell," in the Apostles' Creed, but refused to restore the Athanasian Creed.

As one of its concluding acts, being informed of the election of William White for Episcopal Consecration by the Convention of Pennsylvania, of Samuel Provoost by the Convention of New York, and of David Griffith by the Convention of Virginia, the members proceeded to sign their testimonials, in the form prescribed by the Archbishops of England, for the General Convention.

On October 23rd a very touching address was delivered to Dr. White by order of the vestry:

"We the church wardens and vestrymen of the united churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in the city

<sup>50</sup>*Dorr's "Historical Account of Christ Church," pp. 204 ff.*

of Philadelphia, in vestry met, take this occasion of expressing the satisfaction we feel at your being nominated to the sacred office of a bishop.

"Whilst we congratulate the church in general, upon the prospect of a complete organization within itself, which the independence of the United States of America has rendered essentially necessary, we particularly felicitate ourselves upon the irreproachable moral character of the person now chosen to fulfill the duties of that eminent station, whose exemplary life, and soundness in the christian faith, we have no doubt will, in future, dignify an exalted, as it has hitherto adorned a more humble station in the church of Christ.

"The perfect harmony which has ever subsisted between you and the churches under your care, has deservedly endeared you to them, and will render them anxious for your safety in the voyage you are about to undertake. Our increasing good wishes will accompany you, and we sincerely pray that it may please divine providence to restore you safe to your native land, and to the flock committed to your charge."

To this address Dr. White returned the following answer :

"I request you to accept my sincere and hearty thanks, for the affecting instance of your esteem now given me. Under my sense of the difficulties of the station to which I am nominated, I find great encouragement in knowing that the appointment is satisfactory to the representatives of the congregations, with whom I have so long lived in perfect harmony.

"The testimony given by this vestry in favour of my past life and conversion among them, cannot but have arisen in a great measure from their being disposed to think favourably of their ministers. Yet in case of my return, it will be an additional obligation on me, to endeavour to deserve their regard; and at any rate, it will be an incentive to those who shall succeed me in the pastoral duties of these churches.

"Give me leave, gentlemen, to assure you, that yourselves, and the congregations represented by you, will be always near to my heart; and that, during my absence, I shall not forget to offer up my prayers to the throne of grace on your behalf; at the same time that I desire to recommend myself to yours, as well for the prospering of the important object of my voyage, as for my due discharge of the duties which it may be the occasion of my assuming.

Oct. 23d, 1786.

Wm. White.

Dr. White carried with him to England for presentation to the Archbishops a certificate, dated October 23, 1786, and duly signed by the two church wardens and fifteen vestrymen, in which they recounted that the notice of Dr. White's election to the episcopate had been publicly read in the churches and that the congregation had been solemnly

called on to declare any impediment they might know to the consecration of Dr. White; and that

"no objection was then, or has since been made, to our knowledge, to the consecration of the Rev. William White, D. D., and rector of these churches, to the office of bishop of the protestant Episcopal church in this state, to which he has been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the convention of the said churches. And we do further declare, that whilst we gratefully acknowledge the pious caution manifested by the right reverend the archbishops and bishops of the church of England, in so carefully guarding the first appointments to the episcopacy in America, we congratulate the protestant Episcopal church in this state, on the election of the reverend Doctor White to this sacred office; who, during a period of fourteen years that he has officiated as rector, or as assistant minister, in the churches we represent, has uniformly supported the character of a learned, orthodox, pious and zealous minister of our church; and is, in our opinions, every way qualified to fill the most important offices therein."

On Thursday, the second of November, 1786, Drs. White and Provoost "embarked on board the 'Speedy' packet for old England," and reached London on the 29th of the same month, one of the fastest trips ever made up to that time. When they landed they found that the Hon. John Adams, Non-Conformist though he was, had done everything possible to make possible their consecration.

The journey of White the Presbyterian was about to end, and another journey of White the Bishop was about to begin. In Lambeth chapel, on Septuagesima Sunday, February 4th, 1787, the priesthood of White's presbyterate was taken up into the higher order of the episcopate. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. John Moore, was the consecrator; the Archbishop of York, Dr. William Markham, was the presenter; the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Charles Moss, and the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. John Hinchcliffe, united in the imposition of hands. A new day had dawned, not only for the American Episcopal Church, not only for the Anglican Communion, but also for the Holy Catholic Church.

And what more need we say? Only this. On first thought we do not think of William White as a *pioneer*, but this he was. The son of affluence, the child of colonial culture and refinement, city born and city bred, the rector of a parish then older than many parishes both East and West of today, with the tastes and gifts of a scholar—we see him press forward to cross and conquer new and unknown ecclesiastical frontiers. Out of the deep learning and rich history of the past he



takes true and tried principles; and surveying with keen eye the conditions of the present and envisaging those of the future, he seeks to hammer and weld them into effective tools for the new day and the new tasks. That he succeeded so well is meant for our inspiration and encouragement. We, too, as every generation, have new frontiers to cross and conquer, and always will the pioneer spirit be needed. It is that spirit we can never do without. With that spirit and with Christ—William White's source of it and ours—we cannot utterly fail.

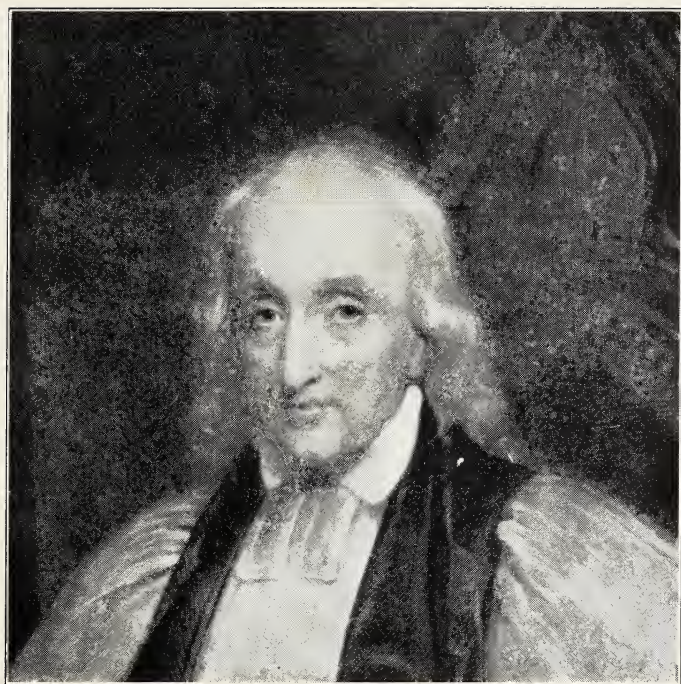
## THE BISHOP

*By Louis C. Washburn*

**I**N a generation of famous personalities creating the mould into which was to be poured the life of a new Continent one arose who is increasingly revered as an outstanding spiritual force and a veritable maker of America. In the fateful years when the Revolutionary pot was a-boiling he was in his early twenties, an Assistant Minister in the United Churches of Philadelphia where patriot leaders came to catch the ideals and energies of the emancipating Lord and Saviour. The young priest was their singularly qualified friend and counselor, focusing his powers upon the challenging task of readjusting the historic institution for vitalizing religion to the unprecedented changes in the new Nation's life.

A fresh understanding of his character and career has been brought to light in the anniversary celebrations of the last two years; and we are now called upon to unfold a supplemental chapter in the significant story of that epochal period. On February 4, 1787, in Lambeth Palace, London, two young American priests, William White and Samuel Provoost, were consecrated Bishops in the Church of God by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishops of Bath and Wells and Peterborough. That event was of such immeasurable consequence in the extension of the Kingdom of God on Earth as to summon thoughtful students of history to a renewed investigation of its implications. Its critical relation to the development of Christianity in this Western Continent may not be overlooked by those who undertake to expound the soul of our civilization in this land where a new adventure in the making of Man was afoot.

Overmuch emphasis has been given to the abortive efforts through preceding years to secure the Episcopate for the separate colonies. The fullness of time had not yet arrived. Nor is it now necessary to further dwell upon the established record of White's notable accomplishment in getting his contemporaries to think in the terms of the entire thirteen Colonies with their strikingly diverse background and situation, and to weld them into a unified Body of Christ that should continue to mould and inspire the personal and corporate character of the infant democracy.



BISHOP WHITE

*After the original by Thomas Sully (1783-1872), pupil of Gilbert Stuart and Benjamin West, who made Philadelphia his home in 1810. Other portraits by him are those of Queen Victoria, Decatur, Lafayette and Thomas Jefferson.*





The Treaty of Peace had not yet been signed after the Battle of Yorktown when White in 1782 published his pamphlet, *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*. In it, after indicating the conceivable necessity for the Church to attack its emergency task temporarily without the Episcopate, he made two fundamental suggestions: first, the adoption of a Federal Constitution, and second, the inclusion of lay representatives in the governing bodies of the Church, national, state and parochial. Shortly after the issuance of this pamphlet, the Treaty of Peace was signed, and the hope of securing the Episcopate from Canterbury in a reasonable period revived.

The author of these challenging suggestions was only thirty-four years old. He became at once the unofficial Committee of Correspondence with interested Churchmen in the various new States; and in due course the two constructive principles for organizing the Church were adopted, both by his own State and the others. Meanwhile, Conventions were assembled, and a revision of the Prayer Book was agreed upon, adapted to American use, in conformity with the Doctrine and Worship of the English Church, and including the sagacious Preface by Dr. William Smith.

That Constitution of the Episcopal Church then elaborated, be it said, is a document worthy of profound attention. Others may justly claim to have had a share in producing the spirit and form of the Declaration of Independence; Churchmen may claim with a clearer right to have laid down the lines of the National Constitution. In point of time the fundamental document of the Church preceded that of the Nation. They were both the handiwork of the same men and the result of the same set of circumstances. Dr. White and Dr. Smith had been fellow-students in statecraft with those other mighty men who built and launched the Ship of State. Their opportunity to put their principles in form for the ecclesiastical reorganization came when they applied them to the Church's Constitution. In its salient features it anticipated that other one which was in due course given forth as the basic law for the American Republic.\*

Thereupon in 1786 New York elected Samuel Provoost, Virginia chose David Griffith, and Pennsylvania William White, to apply to Canterbury for consecration. The applications were endorsed by the civil rulers not only in the States, but as well by the National Congress. The President of that Body, R. H. Lee, and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, John Jay, supplied the desired certificates; and the personal good offices of John Adams, our Minister to Great Britain, were also secured. Though anything but a Churchman himself, he performed this duty

\*Vide, Dr. McConnell's History.

with interest and zeal; and later wrote, "There was no part of my life in which I look back with more satisfaction than the part I took, bold, daring and hazardous, as it was to me and mine, in the introduction of the Episcopacy in America". Of the three whose testimonials were thus authenticated, two, White and Provoost, proceeded promptly to England, while Griffith was unfortunately unable to accompany them.

But meanwhile, yet more notable developments were taking place in England; and these are what we are set to understand and certify by tongue and pen in connection with the celebration of the Sesquicentennial Anniversary of the culminating event on the 4th of February.

Pennsylvanians would expand their thought of the adventurous movement, and magnify the essential part in it played by the New York Churchmen and by their distinguished representative, Dr. Provoost, "a man of varied learning, and prompt and decided action". When the Convention of that Diocese, held in September 1786, selected Dr. Provoost for consecration, and all its members signed his certificate, they took a step without which all else that had been done elsewhere might have proved unavailing; for the essence of the movement was that it was Federal in character, and in precise accordance with an unprecedented Constitution. Moreover, the favorable reputation in England which he had established by his previous residence in the Homeland was such as to greatly facilitate the success of the joint mission of the two young pioneers of God and His Church. Elsewhere there must be told the complete story of his uniquely rich personality and sacrificial services to the Cause of Christ in his difficult days and outstanding community. Suffice it to say here that our beloved Communion and the whole country are deeply indebted to him for the contribution he made in this crisis of the Church.\* His presence lent completeness and persuasiveness to the sacred undertaking.

And now, let us turn to a contemplation of the equally unprecedented action taken by not only the ecclesiastical leaders in the Motherland, but as well, and perhaps yet more magnanimously by the British Parliament and by His Majesty, King George III. Their prompt and sympathetic reception of our representatives was so extraordinary, so epoch-making, as to call for something more impressive than a merely verbal evidence of appreciation. Why should not American Churchmen unite at this time in petitioning for the privilege of erecting in St. Paul's or Lambeth some enduring memorial to the uniquely great-hearted action taken by all the English authorities in response to America's critical spiritual need? Let it be repeated that

\*Cf. Historical Magazine, Vol. ii, June and September, 1933

the Parliament actually altered the law of the Realm—and the King approved the change—in order to favor the nascent Church of the Colonists who had just waged a victorious War of Independence. It was apparently the first and the only action of its kind taken by the British authorities.

At our celebration in 1935 the present Archbishop of Canterbury favored us with the following greeting :

“Lambeth Palace, S. E. I.

“I have heard with great interest of the 150th Anniversary to be held this Autumn in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. I well remember my own feelings when I found myself some years ago in Christ Church, Philadelphia, with all its memories; and I willingly join in the tributes which will be offered to the ability, vision and devotion of the founder of the Diocese, Bishop White, consecrated here in 1787, and I pray that every blessing may be given to the Church in the United States in the reorganization of which he wielded so great an influence, and trust that it may have an ever increasing place of its own in making the Christian religion the chief foundation of American life”.

And a reply signed by all the Bishops in attendance here was forwarded to his Grace, as follows :

“Your gracious Greeting has been received with deep appreciation by the Bishops, Priests and Laity assembled on this seventh day of October, 1935, at Christ Church, Philadelphia, in Commemoration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the significant Convention held here to reorganize the post-Revolutionary remnants of the historic Church. For approximately one hundred and fifty years preceding the Declaration of Independence, the ‘Church of England’ had thriven and served with immeasurable benefit to the Colonists under the nursing care of your predecessors. The unprecedented crisis precipitated by the War then confronted its leaders here and in the homeland.

“The divinely guided group of thirteen priests and twenty-six laymen representing seven of the new States wrought notably in that initial general Convention; fashioning a Constitution, anticipating the like document which is still the inviolable Charter of our Government’s existence; revising the Book of Common Prayer for American usage; resolving to seek Episcopacy at the hands of Canterbury; and furthering plans for a truly General Convention of the prospective National Church.

“The blessed outcome of those adventurous undertakings was, under God, in due course brought to fruition through the magnanimous sympathy of the then Archbishop and the

King and Parliament, permitting 'the consecration of persons being subjects or citizens of countries not of his Majesty's dominions'. That extraordinary manifestation of overcoming readiness to set forward the cause of Christ in the New World is gratefully recalled by us today.

"The Church in these United States is forever indebted to Canterbury. And your kind Message is a timely incitement to us to strengthen the ties between the English-speaking peoples.

"We beg your Grace to accept the assurance of our profound respect and affection for this evidence of your interest, and for the very distinguished leadership which you are giving to the entire Anglican Communion through these testing times".

There has recently come to light a rare pamphlet giving, *inter alia*, the scholarly discourse delivered by Bishop Stevens in connection with the Centennial Commemoration of the consecrations we are again recalling in these Sesquicentennial activities here; and also a notable address made by Bishop Henry C. Potter in a memorable service in Lambeth Palace Chapel. We do well to insert here a brief extract from that illuminating and graceful address:

"Looking back upon their action today it deserves to be said that what they (the Anglican authorities) did, and the deliberation with which they did it were equally worthy of the wisdom and the generosity of the ecclesiastical rulers of statesmanlike prudence and of unflinching loyalty for the Faith. It was a fitting question for English prelates to ask, and it was no less fitting to insist upon its explicit answer—'not merely what Church, so far as its nominal designation is concerned, do you design to perpetuate in America, but in submission to what Catholic symbols of the Faith is it to be founded and maintained?' Never was there a land in which clearness and definiteness on this point was more urgently demanded. God be praised for the fraternal decision and patience that secured it".

To the timely testimony then borne by the eloquent young Bishop, who had just become the Diocesan of New York, upon the death of his uncle a short month earlier, it behooves us here and now to elaborate a further emphasis hinted at in the message returned to the Archbishop in October 1935.

Permit me to point the way by a simple illustration. At Christ Church, Philadelphia, there has been preserved from an obscure past an artistic mural plaque, representing Bishop White in the act of confirming a kneeling candidate for the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Spirit.



The tradition has been that it was a replica of a monument to be found in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. That tradition has been proved unfounded. A visit to St. Paul's discovers no marker to our first Bishop. There is, however, a massive monument there dedicated to the memory of

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THOS. FANSHAW MIDDLETON, D. D.

First Protestant Bishop in INDIA

Consecrated to the SEE of Calcutta May 8th, 1814

Worthy as may have been that pioneer into a distant province of the British Empire; and significant as may have been that step forward in the activities of the English Church, it is obviously not comparable with the far more arresting event that took place in Lambeth in 1787, when so shortly after the rebellious American Colonies won their independence the King and Parliament united in authorizing the Archbishops to consecrate men, freed from the oaths of allegiance, to carry on God's work in a country "outside His Majesty's dominions".

Recently Mr. White, a great, great grandson of Bishop White, visited Lambeth Palace and brought back from its library a photostatic copy of the original warrant issued by King George III authorizing the Archbishops to proceed with the consecration, thus completing the legal steps taken to carry through the procedure by which the civil law of the Realm dating back hundreds of years was altered. In the appended letter dated August 7, 1786, Dr. White writes: "The Committee of our Church have received by ye June Packet, a Letter from the two Archbishops, in which their Graces inform us that *they* had prepared a Bill to be laid before Parliament in a few days, and had no doubt of its passing to enable them to grant our request".

The culmination of all these painstaking and far-seeing preparations came at last on February 4, 1787, after the Archbishop had inspected and accepted their credentials and had presented the two Americans to his Majesty the King, on the second instant.

No one then living could have envisaged the results that would develop from the action that commissioned these two leaders to the Church in the Colonies where there were then only about two hundred clergymen and but few more congregations. Arriving after a stormy passage they addressed themselves to their high calling and to the securing of the additional associate (for there must be three) in the Episcopate that should qualify them to perpetuate the Anglican line on our

shores. In September 1790, Dr. James Madison was consecrated in the same Lambeth Chapel to be Bishop of Virginia; and upon his return he joined with Bishop Provoost, Bishop White and Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, in consecrating in 1792 Dr. Thomas John Claggett as the first Bishop of Maryland. Thus the English and Scottish lines of succession in America were united.

One further development features our story. Noteworthy discoveries of a large number of unpublished manuscript letters to Bishop White have been made. Some of them have been found hidden away in recesses of Christ Church, Philadelphia; others were preserved in the Maryland Diocesan Archives in Baltimore. Through the courtesy of Bishop Helfenstein and the Library officials, Mr. Charles Mamponteng of New York was given access to these illuminating documents and has been employed by several interested friends in transcribing them. They should be assembled with other similarly acquired manuscripts and made available for historical students, as part of this year's commemorative activities.

The first of the Manuscripts submitted here bears the date of 1786, revealing the skill and patience with which the plans for securing the Episcopate were developed in both countries.

*To Rev. William West*

PHILADA Aug. 7. 1786

Dear Sir

I am this Day informed that Dr. Smith is on ye other Side of Susquehannah & will not return from thence untill ye End of this Month; which induces me to give you ye following Information, with ye Hope that you will take or suggest ye necessary Steps. I shall also immediately write to Dr. Smith, but consider a timely Answer from him as rather uncertain.

The Committee of our Church have recd by ye June Packet, a Letter from the two Archbishops, in which their Graces inform us that they had prepared a Bill to be laid before Parliamt in a few Days & had no Doubt of its passing, to enable them to grant our Request. Accordingly, their Graces proceed to inform us of ye Satisfaction they shall require in respect to ye Persons who shall be sent for Consecration. On this Head, they require (inter alia) that ye said Persons bring a Certificate of their Character from ye Genl Convention & another from ye Conventions respectively sending them; agreeably to certain Forms which ye Abps. have enclosed.

The late Convention left a Committee with Power to re-assemble them (when expedient) at Wilmington; three of this Commee reside in N. York & three in this City & ye other Members are Dr. Smith & Dr. Griffith.

The Members in this City, on receiving ye above Com-

munication, wrote a circular Letter to their Brethren, proposing that ye Convention shd be held in ye 2 or 3d Week of October; & in mentioning of this Time they were influenced partly by a Desire to accommodate it to ye Deputation of Carolina & partly by ye convenience of having it near ye Meeting of ye Society for ye Widows Fund; at which we knew there would be present some of our Brethren from N. York & Jersey & one Gent (Dr. Smith) from Maryland.

We have recd an Answer from ye Gent. in N. York approving of our proposal, leaving to us ye Appointment of any Day in either of ye aforesaid Weeks; & we have accordingly named Tuesday ye 10 of Octr. What Measures will be taken to hold Conventions in ye different States will of course rest with ye Persons authorised in them respectively. It is ye Business of ye Committee to give Notice to ye Gentn who were at ye late Convention. Of ye only two Gent. from Maryland, one is out of ye State & ye other lives in so retired a Part of it, that it is as difficult for me to get a Letter to him, as I imagine it would be for him to give ye necessary Notices to his Associates & this is ye Matter which I beg leave to refer to you, to act therein as you shall think proper.

You will wish to know what Faults the Abps. find with our Prayer Book—They earnestly request us to restore ye omitted Art. of ye Ap. Creed & to retain ye two other Creeds in our Book, if even left to discretionary Use; & they say there are some verbal Alterations of which they do not see ye Necessity or Propriety.

They recommend a Review of ye 6 Art. of our Eccl Constitution: ye same wch we amended at ye late Convention & I hope is now to their Mind.

If you shd judge it proper to send for ye Copies of ye Papers which we enclosed to Chester to Dr. Smith, you may make Use of my Name.

I request you to mention to Mr. Harrison (Mr. Harrison did not go as at first intended, by ye Western Shore) what Prospect you have of ye Sale of ye P. Books & to authorize him to make ye same Enquiry at Annapolis, at which Place I am told, they are advertised. Probably I have sent to Maryland more than there will be a demand for. If so, your Convention formed a wrong guess for Dr. Smith wrote me Word that they must have a thousand.

Mrs. White joins me in affte Compts to Mrs. West & yourself. I am, dear Sir, your affte Brother & humble Servt

Wm. White

Our second letter dated 1788 upon the return of the Bishop indicates, inter alia, the anxiety felt lest the Southern brethren should fail to send their representative to Lambeth for consecration, and so complete the necessary trio for commissioning successors.

*To Rev. William West*

HARFORD COUNTY May 11. 1788

Dear Sir

Being so near you, I thought it a good Opportunity of acknowledging your last Favour, altho not having it with me, I may not recollect particularly its contents.

I assure you I did not intend in my last, to allude to any supposed Censures of yours on ye Subject of my Ordinations, for I never heard any such; but in Consideration of your Appointment for recommending, I took ye Liberty to transmit, under your Eye, ye Explanation I had Occasion to make on that Head. I hope it will now be understood that as I have strictly required from Candidates all that was formerly required in ye Cases of Persons sent to England; so I would also have attended to ye additional Requisition wished for in your State, had I known it, especially as I think it very reasonable & proper. On ye Subject of Learning I wish to keep up to ye Spirit of ye Rubrick before ye Ordination Service, which I take to be that, besides a competent Proficiency in Divinity, a knowledge of ye learned Languages is to be required unless it shd seem expedient to dispense with ye latter in Consideration of some Qualifications which promise considerable future Usefulness. If I am right in this Interpretation, you will agree with me that in making ye Application to Candidates from other States, I must be chiefly guided by ye Recommendations I receive & by ye Character of Recommendees.

I have avoided every Appearance of Interference with ye Concerns of ye Church out of Penna, except in those Matters wherein, having in ye Beginning taken our Measures jointly, we seem responsible in Character to one another for ye performing of our respective Shares of ye Business undertaken. On this Ground I think that ye Churches in Penna and New York will have reason to expect, that if Virginia shd still postpone ye sending of Dr. Griffith, some other State where a Gentleman for ye Purpose & indeed, that even if Dr. Griffith go, another be ready for Consecration on his Return. I find that ye Convention of Virginia met a Week before yours, so that if the Result of theirs shd have a Tendency to produce any Effect on your Deliberations in regard to ye above Subject, I should suppose it easy to be acquainted with them in due Time. You will excuse what I offer on this Subject & will perceive that I have reason to be uneasy lest, what have already been done, prove of little Benefit.

I thought your Statement of your Account of ye P. Books & shall only request you in regard to that Subject, to obtain from ye Gentlemen who have ye Remainder, what shall from Time to Time be due, as may best suit your Convenience. I trust there will be no Occasion for ye Commee to avail themselves of your Offer to pay your Proportion of ye loss. Were I possessed of ye outstanding Dues, I shd claim some reason-



able Deductions on ye remaining Accounts and in this Case I believe there would not be any considerable Deficiency. As nearly as I can judge there are about a third of ye Impressions in ye different States unsold, which I expect will gradually go off & I hope in ye End leave something, for ye charitable Use intended. I am within a Trifle, repaid what I had advanced, which at one Time amounted to about £150.

I am just setting off homeward & therefore in haste subscribe myself

Your affte Brother  
Wm. White

The third letter, dated 1804, suggests the answer to the question; What blocked White's purpose in 1791 to welcome Coke's return to the Church in the new land? Was it Asbury's appropriation of that letter? or was it the attitude of the New York Convention?

*To Rev. Simon Wilmer*

NEAR PHILADA July 30, 1804

Revd Sir

I recd your Letter of ye 27th Inst. under Circumstances which prevented my answering by ye Return of ye Post. With it there was delivered a Letter from ye revd John McKlaskey, whom I find to be ye Person alluded to in yours. Having written to this Gentleman, my Transcribing of ye Information given him will be an Answer to you also.

"I beg it may be understood that I have never, from ye Suggestion of my own Mind, given Information of ye Matter concerning which you inquire, except to those whom Dr. Coke expected to be informed of it. Several years passed after ye Transaction, before I had Reason to suppose it known to any others. Within these few years, I have been spoken to on ye Subject two or three Times; when I found myself under a Necessity of Stating Facts in order to guard against Misrepresentation.

"In ye Spring of ye Year 1791, I recd a Letter from Dr. Coke on ye Subject of uniting ye Methodist Society with ye Episcopal Church. An Answer was returned. In consequence of which, Dr. Coke on his coming to Town, made me a Visit, having not then recd my Letter, but having heard that I had written. Our Conversation turned chiefly on ye aforesaid Subject. The general Outlines of Dr. Cokes Plan were a Re-Ordination of ye Methodist Ministers & their continuing under ye Superintendence then existing & in the Practice of their peculiar Institutions. There was also suggested by him a Propriety, but not a Condition made, of admitting to the Episcopacy himself & ye Gentleman associated with him in ye Superintendence of ye Methodist Societies. This Intercourse was communicated at ye Time by Dr. Coke to Dr. Magaw. I do

not know of any other Person then informed of it, unless I may except ye Gentleman above alluded to, by whom, if I have been rightly informed, my Letter to Dr. Coke was opened in his absence, such a Freedom being understood, as I supposed, to arise out of ye Connection between ye two Gentlemen. But for this Part of ye Statement I cannot vouch. It was understood between Dr. Coke & me that ye Proposal should be communicated to ye Bishops of ye Episcopal Church at ye next Convention, which was to be in Sep. 1792 in New York. This was accordingly done, after which I perceived no Use of further Communication on ye Subject & I have not since seen Dr. Coke nor heard from him nor written to him.

"It appears to me that ye above comprehends either explicitly or by Implication, all ye Points to which your Letter leads. It would have been more agreeable to me, if no Occasion of this Testimony had occurred & it is now given merely to prevent ye Matters being understood otherwise than it really is".

The above is what I have written to Mr. McKlaskey & I remain, your affte Brother

Wm. White

The fourth manuscript written in lighter vein in 1815 shows the pastor pastorum adjusting minor details with the same kindly consideration that characterized his handling of major problems.

*To Bishop Kemp*

*Jany 4, 1815*

Right Revd & Dear Sir

Yours of Decr 22d by Mr. Cole, came to Hand. Accidentally hearing that he leaves Town tomorrow, I write to give you my Opinion on ye Matter you have proposed to me.

It is a Question of Taste—at least principally so. On that Ground, I do not perceive how a Church can be made handsome. I never saw an Instance of ye Arrangement excepting in ye Lutheran Church in this City, which does not reconcile it to my Fancy. What you mention of a Clerk's being behind ye Backs of ye Congregation is no awkward Circumstance in my Estimation, he being one of them & not known in his official Character by our Rubrics. Neither do I see any Objection to ye Music's being so placed. It ought to have as much Effect as can be given to it, in exciting ye Devotion of ye Congregation, but ye less it is itself ye Object of their Attention ye better. I have often been disgusted by seeing light minded People turn around & stare at ye Organ-Loft, when their Attention ought to have been fixed on their Devotions. How much this Impropropriety may be increased, when it may be transacted without so palpable a Violation of Decorum, I know not. One of ye greatest Nuisances against which I have been struggling during my whole Ministry, is a Disposition manifested

in a great Proportion of those employed in ye musical Department to behave as tho they were no Part of a christian Congregation & merely called in to relieve ye Solemnity of ye Occasion, by intermediate Diversion. Will not their Error be in some Degree counteracted by their being thrown behind ye Preacher & ye Reader of ye Prayers?

On ye Question of ye Situation of ye Communion Table, I find you have resolved on its being behind ye Pulpit. This has always appeared to me somewhat disparaging to the most solemn Act of our Religion. It is true you have many Examples before you, in England & in America. But how did this happen? It was by an Alteration of ye Stile of Building. The Cathedrals & ye old Parish-Churches, have no Galleries. The Pulpit is thrown on one Side & ye Chancel is open. If a Gallery is admitted, ye Accommodation of ye Congregation impels to ye placing of ye Pulpit in ye very Spot where it ought least of all to be.

I give you my Sentiments hastily and am your affte Brother  
Wm. White

P. S. From Mr. Turner of Chester I learned with great Pleasure in what Manner you were recd during your late Visit to ye En. Shore

One further illustration of his directing wisdom is contained in a brief note dated 1820 to his devoted young son-in-the-faith Jackson Kemper, as he trained him for his pioneer missionary adventures in the boundless West.

*To Rev. Jackson Kemper*

PHA. Ap. 13. 1820

Dear Sir

Last Evening, Mr. Muhlenberg communicated to me ye Inquiry which you make of me thro him. I think that in ye Case proposed, ye most tenable ground for a Clergyman of our Church is ye 113th Canon of ye Church of England; for altho ye greater Number of ye Canons of that Church are inapplicable to our Circumstances, yet it would seem that her solemn Decision on a Point of pastoral Duty, not local & on which there is no Decision among ourselves, ought to govern. The said Canon forbids a Clergyman to reveal what is communicated to him in Confession, unless his own Life should be endangered by Concealment. In this Country, I do not know of any Crime which can subject him to such Danger. In England, Treason & that only may.

If, in ye present Question, there be Reference to ye revealing of what may prevent meditated Crime, I consider ye Duty to reveal as unquestionable. See Colliers on Rapins Acct of ye Case of Gavnet ye Provincial of ye Jesuits who was executed for not revealing ye Gun Powder Plot.

We anxiously hope for your return with renewed Health  
& in ye mean Time, I am yours affy,

Wm. White

Rev. Jackson Kemper.

Note the clarity and charity with which he guided his associates through each pregnant problem; superior to all prejudice, uncannily prescient, and unwaveringly moving toward the "nexte thing", he proved himself a surpassing influence for good in issues both great and small.

Such samples of the large number of unpublished manuscripts recently brought to light, may whet the appetite for the volume which the Church Historical Society contemplates publishing.

William White has been inevitably the dominant figure not only because of his unequaled ministry of sixty-six years, for forty-nine of which he was the Bishop of the Commonwealth; but more particularly because of his singular gifts and incessant labors.

There was a challenging quality of reality and emphasis upon essentials in all his teaching and activities. The record of his fertility of initiative and his enterprise in philanthropic and educational directions is in itself impressive. His leadership in the development of schools and agencies of learning, out of which our system of universal education sprang, would fill a volume. He was a trustee of the College (later the University of Pennsylvania) from 1774 to 1836; he was the founder of the Episcopal Academy. He directed his assistants, Jackson Kemper and James Milnor, in starting the first Church Sunday School, and continued its expansion after their removal; he was the first president and founder of the Philadelphia Dispensary, the Prison Reform Society, the Magdalen Society, and the Philadelphia Bible Society; instituted the holding of religious services in the city prison; a lifelong member and for many years vice-president of the American Philosophical Society; he had been Chaplain of the Continental Congress, and held a similar position with the Federal Congress while the government was located in Philadelphia.

An immediate task at the close of the war was to enlist and train native ministers. At his own suggestion his salary was the meager amount left over from the parish receipts and expenditures. It was with the frank call to a self-denying career that he lured the choicest youths to his tutelage, indoctrinating them with his own spirit of uncalculating eagerness to serve: he trained and ordained them, and they went forth far and near leaving indelible names in the onward march of the Church.

Then as early as 1812 came the organization of the Society for



the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. Drink in what he and his originating committee wrote in its prospectus:

"To the sincere believer in Christianity there can be no subject of more delightful reflection than the rapid progress which, by the blessing of God upon the exertion of Christians of all denominations she has made, and is yet making in every quarter of the known world. Her disciples, fighting, not with human weapons, but in the armour of their divine Master—speaking peace and good will to the inhabitants of the earth—have triumphantly planted the standard of the Cross in regions where idolatry had for ages maintained an undivided sway. Confining our view to the United States, there is much reason for joy and gratitude to the Great Disposer of all things. In that Catholick spirit which it is the duty and the disposition of Episcopalians to feel and to express, we applaud the efforts that have been made by all the members of the great Christian family.

"With peculiar pleasure we also regard the happy consequences which have proceeded from the pious and benevolent exertion of the members of our own Church. It would not perhaps become us to speak boastingly of recent occurrences in our own congregations in the city of Philadelphia; but we may be permitted to say that in them also we find much encouragement to our present undertaking."

The year before he thus launched that pioneer Advancement Society he had consecrated his son-in-the-faith, Hobart, to be Bishop of New York; and (after six following consecrations) he laid hands on Philander Chase for his aggressive planting of the Church in Ohio and Illinois; and he was nurturing the youthful Kemper for his wonderful service in Missouri and Indiana and Wisconsin.

In 1813 he began a series of missionary visitations which reached a climax in 1825, when he was seventy-eight years old. In that attempt to cross the Alleghanies he suffered a broken wrist and other injuries at Lewiston. And the next year at the age of seventy-nine he crossed over to Pittsburgh and Wheeling, Virginia, and completed a circle of eight hundred and thirty miles. Again the following year he penetrated to New Milford, near the New York line, and out to Branford County.

The Bishop's report to the Convention of 1833, when he was eighty-six, is typical. He had just been presiding at the General Convention, still at work enriching the Prayer Book. As president of the Advancement Society, he had been dedicating new churches in Manayunk and Newtown and West Marlboro, Vincent, Honesdale and Lawrenceville and Grace, Philadelphia. And shortly afterward he presided at the Convention in Delaware. The subjects to which he called at-

tention in addressing his own Convention were these: The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, the Advancement Society, the Sunday School Union, the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans, The General Seminary, The Pennsylvania Bible Society, and The Bishop's Fund.

Finally he delivered to that Convention a charge on the live topic of the day, "Revivals," a dispassionate, illuminating deliverance of assured benefit at the time.

The story of the march of the Church in Pennsylvania under his successors to the present day is one of continuing advance. The vast territory of the state-wide diocese embraced 44,832 square miles, its population in 1830 was 1,347,672, which has increased today to 9,631,350. The area is now divided into five dioceses in which there are five bishops, 535 priests, and 150,000 communicants, whose contributions the past year totaled \$4,153,367. The institutions are of wide variety, and the agencies for missionary, educational and humanitarian service are many and efficient in the co-operative task of extending the Kingdom of our Blessed Lord and Saviour.

This development in the state as mirrored in such a comparative statistics is obviously a very partial indication of the fruitage of White's life and labors. His spheres of influence were primarily in his triple congregations with all sorts and conditions; and thereafter with the complex life of the capital city in which he was for so many years the foremost citizen; and yet more as the creative and guiding genius of the expanding national church.

For such a personality no table of weights and measures can be found; least of all is he to be classified by superficial critics or partisan ecclesiastics.

It may serve a distinct purpose in this connection to recall a priceless quality running throughout the astonishing quantity of the Bishop's output. It is vividly brought to light in his handling of a challenging issue. Barclay's Apology for Quakerism was in circulation. It challenged some of White's cherished convictions. He set himself to answer it. With characteristic patience, learning and skill he wrote out in his clear neat chirography a vigorous rejoinder, a truly monumental manuscript, enough to make up into several substantial tomes. Then calmly he put those manifold pages under lock and key—to ripen—and went about amongst his fellow citizens, cultivating mutual understanding and gathering them together in various benevolences, the Bible Society, Work for the Deaf and Dumb, etc. And finally he made a brief record of his decision not to print the reply; that the controversy might die down, and peace and progress be attained through other means. That massive manuscript is still stored in our Muniment Room;

and is a constant reminder of the better way with differing brethren—a forerunner of the delightful modern movement toward a Fellowship of Uncongenial Minds. Such an act of restraint of the pride of authorship, such an example of courtesy (which is consideration for the self-respect of others), such an exercise of refraining yea even from good words might well be pondered by all who would put forth hasty hands to steady the Ark of God.

Little by little we have thus been edging out into the open spaces, not of compromising the truth, nor of a toleration that is indifference, but toward an appreciation of the value of the differential, and a co-ordination of varying contributions toward the knowledge and service of our one Lord and Saviour.

From these and other proofs of his quality and capacity, the meaning of the life of the man and Bishop emerges in clearer outline and perspective, and his claim upon the grateful remembrance of Christian Americans grows.

After seventeen years of faithful and fruitful ministry as Deacon and Priest, he became for forty-nine yet more eventful years (sixty-six in all) the consecrated Father in God of our far-flung Communion in the rapidly developing new Nation. Through all this providentially prolonged period, he proved himself a growing soul, staunch and utterly true to the historic Faith; Anglican by the blood of generations and inherited convictions; a Catholic Christian, unwaveringly, in its unperverted credal significance; glorying in the heritage of the English Reformation, declaring he would as lief be called a pagan as a partisan; and yet further, a daring Patriot, and American Churchman; boldly protesting against the apparent godlessness of a princely bequest for a school from which religion might be excluded; winning, the while, the increasing confidence and love of all sorts and conditions of men, adding to his manifold exacting duties as both Pastor and Bishop, student and author, fertile initiator of numberless philanthropic and educational movements, hazardous missionary journeys across the mountains and streams of his vast jurisdiction, and training choice sons in the Faith whom he commissioned to carry the leavening Gospel to yet remoter regions. His is indeed a name written in letters of light glowing with ever brighter effulgence as the years roll by.

## THE TEACHER

*James A. Montgomery*

### I. THE ENVIRONMENT

WILLIAM WHITE was the son of Colonel Thomas White, who settled in Maryland in 1720, where he was active as planter and lawyer. In 1730 he married Sophia, the daughter of John Hall, by whom he had three daughters. After his wife's death he removed to Philadelphia about 1745, and in 1747 he took as his second wife Esther Hewlings, of Burlington, N. J., marrying her in Christ Church. The issue of this marriage was William, the subject of this sketch, and Mary, who became the wife of Robert Morris. Thus in his family relations White enjoyed inter-Colonial connections, and he retained his share in his father's Maryland estate.<sup>1</sup> William was born March 24, 1747 O. S. (which must be rendered into April 4, 1748 N. S., or else the birth would appear rather out of the way). His father entered him in the young College of Philadelphia, which later developed into the University of Pennsylvania, and of which he himself was an original Trustee. The son graduated in 1765. He became a Trustee in 1774, for a time serving as President of the Board, and subsequently he served in the same capacity in the University which continued the College until his death in 1836. In 1782 he received from the University the degree of Doctor of Divinity, being the first recipient of this honor. On this degree hangs a fateful result for the Church. It was in consequence of his academic priority that he was consecrated Bishop before Dr. Provoost, who held a later degree from Kings College, although the latter was the older man. His diploma has been presented to the University archives.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See *Account of the Meeting of the Descendants of Colonel Thomas White . . . June 7, 1877*, (Philada., 1879), pp. 15-33. The most recent biographical sketch of White's life is the excellent contribution by Prof J. Cullen Ayer in the final volume of the *American Dictionary of Biography* (1936).

<sup>2</sup>Mr. W. I. Rutter, Secretary of the Church Historical Society, kindly recalls for me the interesting fact that Bishop White followed the same order of precedence in the consecration of Dr. Hobart (D.D., Univ. Penn., 1807) before Mr. Griswold. Cf. Bishop Kinsman's *Sermon at the Anniversary Service in Trinity Church, New York, May 31, 1911* (printed with the title, *The Spirit of Churchmanship*):

"Bishop White, it was noticed by Bishop Griswold's friends, laid hands first on Hobart, who was the younger man, had been the more recently elected, and was being consecrated as Assistant to two Bishops, not as independent Diocesan. They inferred that Bishop White wished to assure to Hobart rather than Griswold





BISHOP WHITE AT THE AGE OF 88 YEARS

*After the original by Bishop White' protege, Newsam, the deaf boy whom he had educated in the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and who became an artist.*



Philadelphia dates officially from 1681-1682 with Penn's first band of colonists and his first visit to his Province. The ensuing century, which terminated with the Constitutional Convention of the Federated Colonies, and, for the Churchman's particular interest, with the consecration of Bishops of the Anglican succession, is brilliant with two stars of first magnitude, the Founder, William Penn, and Benjamin Franklin. The former's stay was brief, he returned home in 1685, and came back again only after fifteen years, to remain but three years. But he stands forth as the great idealistic Colonizer of our country, whose spiritual ideals even more than his presence set for good the peculiar characteristic of his Colony.<sup>3</sup> Only one other Colonizer of like idealism ranks with him, of historical precedence by fifty years, the Churchman, Thomas Oglethorpe, whose virtues only of late have come to be adequately studied and appreciated.<sup>4</sup> As for Benjamin Franklin it is unnecessary even to hint at the laurels placed upon his brow. Born in Boston in 1706, he migrated to Philadelphia in 1723, and here was his home till his death in 1790. His passing well marks the end of Philadelphia's first century. Franklin worshipped in Christ Church, where his pew is still shown. He appears to have found more peace there

*eventual succession to the post of Presiding Bishop. Bishop White afterward explained that his action was due solely to his recognition of Hobart as Doctor in Divinity, since Griswold had not at that time received his doctorate."*

For the history of the University see G. B. Wood, *Early History of the University of Pennsylvania . . . to the year 1827*, ed. 3 (Philada., 1896) with *Supplementary Chapters* by F. D. Stone; T. H. Montgomery, *History of the University of Pennsylvania . . . to 1770* (Philada., 1900); a brief sketch coming down to present times by G. E. Nitzsche, *The University of Pennsylvania* (Philada., 1914, pp. 256). The first three historians date the institution from the founding of "the Academy" in 1749, which followed upon Franklin's famous *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*. But the date of origin has now been officially fixed as 1740, when the Charity School was founded through George Whitefield's impulse. (For the official dating compare that of Harvard University from the year of John Harvard's demise. The University thus boasts of two Founders, the Evangelist Whitefield and the Deist Franklin.) This earlier foundation was combined with the Academy in formal title and incorporation in 1753. In 1755 the school became legally "the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia," with Provost and Professors, and in due time graduating Bachelors and Masters in Arts. From 1779 and on in consequence of complicated politics and personal dissensions the charter of the College was withdrawn by the Assembly for some years, and a rival corporation entitled the University of Pennsylvania was created. But in 1791 the two corporations came to be combined under the latter name. So much is necessary to state because of the possibly confusing variation of academic names. In commemoration of the coming bi-centennial anniversary of the University an ample volume is now in preparation under the editorship of Prof. E. P. Cheyney.

<sup>3</sup>The most recent work on Penn is by A. Pound, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* (N. Y., 1932). Also most recent among many books on old Philadelphia is the (posthumous) volume by John Frederick Lewis, *An Old Philadelphia Land Title* (Philada., 1934). I note supplementarily Bonamy Dobrée's *William Penn*. (1932), which I have not seen.

<sup>4</sup>See E. L. Pennington, "Beginnings of the Church of England in Georgia," in this Magazine, I (1932), 222-234, and the recent biography by A. A. Ettinger, *Thomas Oglethorpe* (Oxford, 1936).

than in some other sanctuaries of the day, which were filled with too much controversy, theological and political.

These two luminaries rather obscure for tradition other remarkable men of Penn's Colony. The most notable of these was James Logan. He was one of the first Trustees of the young Academy, and so was associated with White's father, but he died soon after its inception, in 1751.<sup>5</sup> He was Penn's right-hand man, his proxy in his absence, the constructive builder of the young Commonwealth, serving in multitudinous offices, from Penn's Secretary to Chief Justice of the Province; a strong-willed man who had to encounter opposition of his fellow Quakers as well as that of the many dissident elements of the Colony. But apart from his political genius and ability he was a man of rare culture. He had a mastery of the Classics and knew Hebrew; he wrote scientific treatises in Latin; he was at once agriculturist, botanist and physicist, and patron of young scientists. His library, which was one of the richest collections in the Colonies, will be spoken of below. Logan's culture was paralleled by that of his son-in-law Isaac Norris, "the foremost Friend of his day; in addition to a knowledge of Hebrew he wrote in Latin and French with ease . . . and possessed a fine library."<sup>6</sup>

Logan, withal a Friend, was a typical philosopher of the Eighteenth Century type, encyclopaedic in knowledge, avid in its pursuit. In a day when Philosophy peculiarly included the Natural Sciences, Philadelphia was most notable for its physicists and scientists. Franklin stands first in general repute. In connection with his prime interest in electricity Ebenezer Kinnersley deserves first mention after him. Kinnersley was a co-worker with Franklin in his electrical experiments, and through the latter's interest he took charge of the English School in the Academy-College in 1753, retiring honorably in 1792 and dying in 1798. He appears to have been the first lecturer-at-large on electricity in the country. He was an Anabaptist, to use the language of the day, and in the 1740's his Baptist brethren broke with him because

<sup>5</sup>Montgomery's History is of particular value for its biographical sketches of all persons connected with the early history of that institution. A compendious list is to be found in the Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers and Graduates, etc. . . . 1749-1880, published by the Alumni Society in 1880. The General Alumni Catalogue of 1917 lists only the alumni. Biographies of selected alumni are given in E. P. Cheyney and E. P. Oberholtzer, University of Pennsylvania (Boston, 1902). These groupings give at a glance the academic society in which White participated.

<sup>6</sup>Montgomery, History, 156, citing G. W. Norris in Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog., I, 449. With these gentlemen-Hebraists may be compared, at a century later, Clement C. Moore, the first professor of Hebrew in the General Theological Seminary, author of the first Hebrew dictionary printed in America (1809), exceptional as a lay professor in a theological seminary, and whose versatility is immortal through his "Twas the Night before Christmas."



of his denunciation of Whitefield's preaching; for a few years he worshipped in Christ Church, but he was later received back into the Baptist fold.

In the scientific galaxy of this century of Philadelphia's life David Rittenhouse ranks next after Franklin in the world's memory but above him as absolute scientist. Born in Germantown in 1732—his charming house on the Wissahickon, still preserved, is now public property—he gained immortal fame from his observations of the transit of Venus and Mercury in 1769, while his "Orrery" (named after the Earl of Orrery) for representing the motion of the planets was a triumph of mathematical and technical skill; it was the forerunner of the modern planetarium. The first example was bought by Princeton University, and another came to the University of Pennsylvania, where it has been set working again by Professor M. J. Babb. He received the honorary degree of A.M. in the College in 1767, became later Vice-Provost and Professor of Astronomy, and finally Trustee, 1784-1796, the year of his death.<sup>7</sup>

Another notable name in technical physics is that of Thomas Godfrey (Sr.) (1704-1749). He was the actual inventor of "Hadley's quadrant," and as in the history of many an invention another reaped the credit of the name of this permanent nautical instrument. He was a man of humble birth, a glazier, but his son Thomas became one of the literary and social lights of Philadelphia—of whom more below.

There were still other fields of the natural sciences in which Philadelphians were leaders. Botany was a native hobby of the cultured colonists, for one reason because as planters they were practically interested in agriculture; such men were James Logan and his grandson George (1753-1821) of Stenton, and James Hamilton of Woodlands.<sup>8</sup> But botany became scientifically distinguished by John Bartram (1699-1777). Born just outside of Philadelphia County he built a mansion on the Schuylkill below Gray's Ferry (now in West Philadelphia), and planted its garden with rare flora collected in his travels far and wide over the Colonies. His place has fortunately become a city park. In a recent delightful volume on those early natural scientists, Bartram is described as "the first native-born naturalist in the New World."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup>There has been of late an extensive revival of interest in Rittenhouse, see, e. g., M. J. Babb, articles in *Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, vol. 56, 193-224 (1932); *Scientific Monthly*, vol. 35, 522-542 (1932); T. D. Cope, *Journ. Franklin Inst.*, March 1933, 287-298; also W. E. and W. B. Montague, *D. Rittenhouse, his Life and his Achievements*, 1924.

<sup>8</sup>For these two estates see Thompson Westcott, *Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia* (Philada., 1895), 141 ff., 415 ff.

<sup>9</sup>D. C. Peattie, *Green Laurels* (N. Y., 1936), ch. 9, devoted to Bartram. For ancient lore about this man and his garden, with illustrations, see Westcott, pp. 180-189.

Lest we think that those early scientists had little learning, Bartram learned enough Latin grammar in three months to understand Linnaeus's *Treatise on Botany*, first borrowing a copy, later procuring one for himself. Yet another branch of natural science cultivated in the new country was ornithology. The pioneer was Alexander Wilson (1766-1813), a weaver by profession, a brilliant and many-sided man, who came to America in 1794 and settled at Gray's Ferry hard by Bartram. Inspired by the latter he reproduced the seven volumes of his *American Ornithology* (1808-). The name of a more enduring contributor to the study of bird-life is John James Audubon, who stayed for a short time (1804-1806) at the house his father had acquired at Mill Creek in the Perkiomen Valley.<sup>10</sup>

That field of applied science called medicine had its peculiar glory in Philadelphia. The names of Dr. William Shippen and Dr. John Redman stand as forerunners. In 1765 the Medical School of the University was established, the first in the Colonies, with Dr. John Morgan as its chief. He was the first of a long roll of medical men to pursue his studies at length abroad; he received his medical degree at Edinburgh, and later studied at Paris and London. He had as his associates Drs. Shippen, Adam Kuhn, and Benjamin Rush. Dr. Rush, Professor at the University 1768 to his death in 1813, distinguished himself as a most vigorous and notable personality, taking his full share in politics and the religious activities and controversies of his day.<sup>11</sup>

In approaching the more delicate subject of the Humanities we have to observe that most of the above named personalities were men of wide culture. In this field again Franklin was a leader, in requiring the study and practice of English as an essential of good education; this in his famous *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, printed by him in 1749, becoming the programme for the foundation of the College in Philadelphia, founded in the same year.<sup>12</sup> However Franklin insists that the foreign languages are useful, in some professions, even in business, essential, and he names Latin, Greek, French, German, Spanish, but "English Arithmetick and other Studies absolutely necessary, being at the same Time not neglected."

<sup>10</sup>For Wilson and Audubon see Peattie, ch. 10; for Wilson, Westcott, pp. 186 ff., and E. C. Oberholtzer, *Literary History of Philadelphia* (Philada., 1906), 139-144; and for Audubon, C. Rourke, *Audubon* (N. Y., 1936).

<sup>11</sup>For the Medical School see Joseph Carson, *History of the Medical School of the Univ. of Penna.* (1869); Wood, *Early History of the University of Penna.*, ed. 3, ch. 4; Montgomery, pp. 479 ff. For Rush see the recent biography by N. C. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush* (Philada., 1934).

<sup>12</sup>A limited facsimile reprint has been published by the Univ. of Penna. Press, 1931. A reprint was issued by the Clements Library of the Univ. of Mich. in 1927. It is given in full in Appendix A of *Montgomery's History*, and this editor states (p. 35) that the document, omitted in Bigelow's *Works*, was inserted in *Jared Sparks' Works*, I, 569 ff., but "with his literary freedom."

In that most ancient and honorable branch of the Humanities, the Law, one name must here be recorded, that of the first Professor of Law in the Colonies, James Wilson. Receiving the honorary degree of A.M. in 1766, he became Professor of English in 1773 and Professor of Law in 1790 in the University. Wilson, a Signer, and member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and later Associate Justice of the Federal Supreme Court upon its organization, has only in recent years been given justice for his part in the formation of the Constitution.<sup>13</sup> It is not within the scope of this paper to signalize White's well known relations with the Constitutional Makers of America, whose center was Philadelphia. But with James Wilson the Bishop enjoyed from their youth a peculiarly close friendship. "With Mr. White (subsequently the venerated Bishop) his relations from early manhood on through life, were of the most intimate, affectionate and confidential character." And Wilson's son Bird became, as we shall observe, White's theological protégé and the first professor of Theology in the first Seminary of the Church, as also ultimately White's first biographer.<sup>14</sup>

In the ancient field of the Classics the City had also its scholarship, in a day when, as has been noted, gentlemen of culture knew their Latin and Greek, and even Hebrew. Two names may here be recorded. Francis Alison, a Presbyterian minister, who gained honorary degrees from Yale, Princeton, Glasgow, became Vice-Provost of the University in 1755, continuing to his death in 1799. In a quaint letter to Ezra Stiles, the notable President of Yale University, Franklin in a letter of introduction for Alison and John Bartram, presents the former as an authority on "agriculture, philosophy, your own Catholick [sic] divinity and various other points of learning equally useful and engaging." And after meeting him on that visit, in 1755, President Stiles recorded of him in his diary that "he is the greatest

<sup>13</sup>There is the tradition that President Washington desired to appoint him Chief Justice, but political reasons interfered. For recent studies see L. H. Alexander, "James Wilson," *N. Am. Rev.*, 1906, no. 8, and James Wilson, *Nation Builder, a Biographic Monograph* (Philada., 1907); (Mrs.) M. H. Klingelsmith's essay upon him in *Great American Lawyers* (ed. by Wm. Draper Lewis, Philada., 1907-8, vol. I); B. A. Konkle, *James Wilson and the Constitution* (Philada., 1907). The last named writer has in preparation a full edition of his *Life and Letters*. Supplementarily I add Julian P. Boyd's biography of Wilson in the final volume of *The American Dictionary of Biography*, the most critical study of the man that has been made; and an article edited by R. G. Adams in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Oct. 1936, "James Wilson: An Appreciation by James Bryce."

<sup>14</sup>The citation is from W. W. Bronson, *Memorial of the Rev. Bird Wilson, D.D.* (Philada., 1864), 32. In the election of an Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania in 1827, resulting in the choice of Rev. H. U. Onderdonk, Bird Wilson's name had been discussed but was withdrawn; this is "the name of the other presbyter," which "was understood to be likewise withdrawn"—so Wilson writes anonymously of himself in the *Memoir of White*, p. 227. The tradition is that Wilson was White's choice. In an earlier attempt at election, which was cancelled, Wilson fell behind Onderdonk by one vote.



classical Scholar in America, especially in Greek . . . is a great literary character."<sup>15</sup> A character more enduring in scholastic fame, although this is overshadowed by his brilliant political reputation, is Charles Thomson, the "Perpetual Secretary" of the Continental Congresses. In the history of Bible scholarship he is notable for his translation of the Greek Old Testament, the Septuagint published 1808, the first undertaking of the kind in English, as also for his *Synopsis of the Four Evangelists*, 1815. The following citation is taken from the Autobiography of President Ashbel Green of the College of New Jersey (Princeton University): "After our Revolutionary War was terminated, and before the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, our country was in a very deplorable state, and many of our surviving patriotic fathers, and Mr. Thomson among the rest, could not easily rid themselves of gloomy apprehensions. Mr. Thomson's resource was the study of the Four Gospels, in the language of his own version."<sup>16</sup> Thomson's scholarship thus had a religious impulse. He was a Tutor in the Academy 1750-1755.

But in addition to this company of serious "Philosophers" there were the cultivators of the gentler arts of Letters, of poetry, music, the drama. Provost Smith, whatever his differences with Franklin, agreed with him in the duty of furthering English letters in the young Academy, indulging himself at times in the gentle, if modishly stiff art of poetry. His idealistic educational pamphlet, *A General Idea of the College of Mirania* (N. Y., 1753), which brought him to Franklin's attention and so to the Provostship of the Academy, is prefaced with a long poetical "Prologue";<sup>17</sup> and upon his undertaking the Provostship he presented an elaborate "Dedication Poem."<sup>18</sup> The scientific Kinnersey similarly poetized. The first graduate of the Academy, Jacob Duché (A.M. 1757) revelled in poetry in his college days. But the two outstanding poets were Francis Hopkinson and Thomas Godfrey, Jr. The former, a Signer and later a Federal Judge, as also Secretary of the Lower House of our early conventions, is recalled in the history of American patriotic verse as the author of "The Battle of the Kegs," and his son Joseph, also a Federal Judge, wrote the first na-

<sup>15</sup>For the citations see Montgomery, *History*, pp. 165 f.; the first is from Bigelow, II, 413. The second is not docketed, but it is to be placed in F. B. Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (N. Y., 1906), II 338 (not p. 388, as the Index erroneously gives).

<sup>16</sup>The citation from Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians* (Philada., 1859), 913. In general see Lewis R. Hardy, *Life of Charles Thomson* (Philada., 1900), and ch. 8 in particular for Thomson's literary labors.

<sup>17</sup>Horace W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.* (Philada., 1880), 21 ff.

<sup>18</sup>Montgomery, pp. 194 ff., with extracts.



tional anthem, "Hail Columbia."<sup>19</sup> Francis took a foremost part in the Commencement Exercises of the Academy. The list includes the presentation of "The Masque of Alfred," with musical accompaniments, in 1756-57, and on another occasion "an elegant Dialogue" by Thomas Coombe, and "an ode set to Music," by John Bankson, accompanied "by the organ under the conduct of" Francis Hopkinson.<sup>20</sup> For Hopkinson's "Masque of Alfred" reference should be made to Prof. A. H. Quinn's authoritative history of the early American drama.<sup>21</sup> For an extensive and appreciative study of this early musician, see O. G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson, the First American Poet-Composer and James Lyon, Patriot, Preacher, Psalmist*. *Two Studies in Early American Music* (Washington, 1905). This book gives a full account of his music at Christ Church, and cites in full his letter to the Bishop on "the conduct of Church organs" (pp. 58-62). The musically gifted Francis was organist in Christ Church, and in this connection may be noted one artistic interest in White's character, which otherwise appears unpoetical. He states in a letter to Dr. Abercrombie, of date 1809,<sup>22</sup> that he was "so far as I know, the first clergyman in the United States who introduced chanting into any of our churches," this "chanting" being contrasted with singing the Psalms in Metre. Later his young disciple F. A. Muhlenberg enthusiastically developed Church music in Dr. White's parish.<sup>23</sup> But the outstanding event in the dramatic history of the Quaker City was the production in 1767 of "The Prince of Parthia," by Thomas Godfrey, Jr., son of the inventor of

<sup>19</sup>See G. E. Hastings, *Life and Work of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago, 1926), especially pp. 366-369 for his interest in Church music. For Joseph see his *Life* by B. A. Konkle (Philada., 1931).

<sup>20</sup>See Montgomery, pp. 229 ff., 243, 333 ff., 345 f, 349, 453, 466.

<sup>21</sup>*A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War* (N. Y., 1923), 18 ff.

<sup>22</sup>Bronson, *Memoir*, 348 ff.

<sup>23</sup>R. G. Osterweis in a charming study, *Rebecca Gratz* (Philada., 1935—the original of Scott's Rebecca in Ivanhoe) quotes that lady in reference to White's appreciation of the music at the dedication of a new Jewish synagogue, Mikveh Israel, in 1825: "A choir . . . sings an ancient Hebrew melody. Their lovely rendition causes the bishop [evidently White], an invited guest at the service, to assert: 'Never has there been such Church Music in Philadelphia.'"

In *White's Commentaries Suited to Occasions of Ordination* (to be noted below), pp. 189-194, there is an interesting discussion of Psalms, hymns and chants, which reveals that there was considerable discussion of their several merits. He discusses the advantages of rhyme and blank verse, and refers to Bishop Lowth's epoch-making *Isaiah, a New Translation*.

Since writing the above paragraphs the writer has come upon a copy of White's pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Singing of Psalms and Anthems in Churches*, in the library of the Philosophical Society. It is listed by Wilson, p. 311. The library copy has a penned note on the title-page to the effect that it was written by the Rt. Rev. Dr. White in 1808. This paper deserves further study.

Mr. C. B. B. Jefferys has an interesting chapter on *Music and Singing at St. Peter's, 1761-1783*, in his *Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church* (n. d. 1923), 56-61. The book has a full bibliography.

the quadrant, a protégé and student of Provost Smith's, who is called by the historian Quinn "the first dramatist in our history." He also records that both Hopkinson and Godfrey had a common inspiration from the performances of a professional troupe of actors in 1754. Quinn further writes as follows: "It is pleasant to speculate on what must have been the companionship of Francis, the first poet-composer, Benjamin West, the first painter, and Thomas Godfrey, the first dramatist in our history, all responding to the stimulating powers of one of the greatest teachers of his time" (*i. e.* Provost Smith).<sup>24</sup> Another "amiable" poet of those Alumni has recently been brought back to light by the studies of an indefatigable historian in the South, namely Nathaniel Evans. He was given the honorary degree of A.M. in 1765, the year of White's graduation, as a mark of the Trustees' "attention and regard to his promising genius and great merit;" he received Anglican orders, and labored in Gloucester Co., N. J., but died untimely in 1757, mourned by all who knew him.<sup>25</sup>

To this list of men of the arts may be appropriately attached the name of Benjamin West, "the first painter." A Friend by origin, the Elders of Meeting admonished his father against the son's dangerous proclivities, but in vain; he achieved a distinction in art which took him to England, where he lies buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. White's acquaintance with the young artist involved him in the one romance, or scrape, of his on record, at least in tradition. He and Francis Hopkinson helped Benjamin's sweetheart, Miss Betty Shewell, to elope from her brother's house, with rope-ladder and all, and shipped her to England where she joined her lover and lived happily ever afterwards. But the story is best told by a lady.<sup>26</sup>

The crystallization of the intellectual, more appropriately "philosophical" spirit of eighteenth-century Philadelphia was the American Philosophical society, the first learned Academy on this side of the At-

<sup>24</sup>Quinn, pp. 16-18. *It is interesting to have this estimate from a modern authority. Whatever were the virtues and faults of the versatile and probably brilliant Smith, a person most diversely appraised by his contemporaries, he was a stimulating and friendly patron of his students, as exhibited in his zealous interest in Godfrey and Nathaniel Evans, to be named below, the works of both of whom he brought to publication; see Smith's Life of William Smith, I, 187 ff., 479 ff.*

<sup>25</sup>Montgomery, pp. 453, 467; E. L. Pennington, *Nathaniel Evans, A Poet of Colonial America*, (Ocala, Fla., 1935), with extensive selections of his verse and full bibliography. *The Poems were published by Dr. Smith in 1792. For these and other notable literary characters and ventures towards the end of the century see at length Oberholtzer, Literary History of Philadelphia (Philada., 1906), cc. 3-6.*

<sup>26</sup>Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, *Through Colonial Doorways* (Philada., 1893), 119 ff. *Hastings in his Francis Hopkinson, pp. 102 f., thinks that the story is "too pretty" to compel immediate acceptance, but admits that there is evidence for "some basis of fact" in one of Hopkinson's letters.*

lantic, with few preceding it across the water. Its history goes back to the founding of Franklin's coterie "the Junto" in 1727, which later (1743? — the dating is disputed) became the American Philosophical Society. Many of the above named personalities appear in this group. It numbered among its Presiding Officers such men as Franklin, Rittenhouse, Thomas Jefferson. Charles Thomson was its Secretary. White was made a member of the Society in 1768.<sup>27</sup>

One phase of that ancient atmosphere is to be observed. The young man's education was not confined to the halls of his college, in itself a bleak place, nor did it stop with his A.B. The academic word "Commencement" meant then what it etymologically means. The intellectual notables of the day were only exceptionally "professors." The real school for the intelligent youth—and manhood began earlier then, as the ages of those eminent in Church and Nation prove—was found in the coterie that met in gentlemen's parlors and libraries, or perhaps still more congenially in "Taverns." Franklin's Junto is the prime case to the point. A later brilliant example of such intellectual *causerie* is the Wistar Parties, instituted by the distinguished anatomist, Dr. Casper Wistar, in his mansion, still standing, on South Fourth Street, and composed originally of members of the Philosophical Society. These Parties began in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and were continued long after the Doctor's death in 1818. They constituted the social centre of Philadelphian intellectual life, the coterie having been revived again in recent years. In them were entertained distinguished foreigners like Von Humboldt, Thomas Moore, Thackeray.<sup>28</sup> Such groups took the place of the modern seminar in the fertilization of the mind through company with brilliant minds. Happy the youth who might graduate into them and continue his education through life. Out of such groups arose, as the American Philosophical Society and the University, so the Philadelphia Library Company, the Academy of Natural Sciences, the Franklin Institute, and the like. This Philadelphia tradition was long continued in the homes of such men as Horace Howard Furness, S. Weir Mitchell, Henry C. Lea, names which still rank far above those of average professors of our day. Education then was after the pattern of ancient Athens and the early Universities of Europe.

<sup>27</sup>See "Historical Address" by President F. X. Dercum in *The Record of the Founding of the Am. Phil. Soc. (Proceedings. Vol. 66, 1927)*. For a delightful view of the company composing the group see Miss Wistar's book, pp. 98-146; for a list of members since the beginning the Society's booklet, *Servants of Mankind* (1930). White also served as Secretary in 1779, 1781-1782, as Councillor 1792-1797, 1804-1818, and as Vice-President 1783-1785.

<sup>28</sup>See Miss Wharton's chapter on these Parties, pp. 147-176, and Oberholtzer, pp. 198 ff.



Such were some of the luminaries of various degrees and colors in that eighteenth-century town. But the atmosphere as well as the lights is to be considered in human history even as in biology. Penn's Province was a peculiarly conglomerate body. A land for all men, especially for those persecuted for their faith—for all except Atheists, it became at once the most diversified of the Colonies. Dutch and Swedes, English and Scotch and Scotch-Irish, Germans of many brands, came and settled. They retained their various tongues especially in their churches; Swedish-preaching ministers officiated in St. David's, Radnor, till the eve of the Revolution. Counties to the north were largely settled by Germans, where a hybrid German *patois* still largely remains the language of home and church. They seemed so alien that Franklin and other good people formed a society for their education and evangelization, in part unadvisedly and much to their disgust. There came in all varieties of religious bodies suffering from persecution in the Old World, Protestants, Catholics, Jews. The gentle Society of Friends led the way and put its permanent stamp of peace (so in popular tradition) and benevolence on the city and its neighborhood.<sup>29</sup> But it had its troubles in this realistic world. There was the strange phenomenon of George Keith, about 1700, who bedevilled his friends the Friends, who "went out" to establish another sect, the "Keithians," and who finally found peace (?) in the Church of England in order to keep up war against his old associates. James Logan, the actual administrator of the Colony, was a thorn in his brethren's side, for he recognized that the Indians had to be fought. John Bartram became an original Unitarian, inscribing his faith in an inscription on the wall of his house: "To God alone, almighty God, The holy One by me adored"; and he was "read out of meeting." The Revolution stirred up their hot-bloods, and they "went out," calling themselves "Free Quakers," popularly dubbed "the Fighting Quakers." The ancient body still exists corporately (its hereditary members mostly, if not all, now Church people) with its Meeting House standing at Fifth and Arch Streets.<sup>30</sup> Many "Churchmen," as they were then popularly called—the modern Episcopalian self-titulation is not an assumption—came in by direct immigration, or by removal from other Colonies, es-

<sup>29</sup>*It must be borne in mind that the City was merely the section between the rivers and Arch and South Streets, until the consolidation of the whole county of Philadelphia as a city in 1854.*

<sup>30</sup>*See Westcott, Historic Mansions, 321-332. The inscription under the gable gives as date: "Erected A. D. 1783, of the Empire 8," the latter figure dating from the Articles of Confederation of 1777. This is probably the only monumental survival of "Empire," a term then not uncommon, in the day before the idea of the Nation was born. Similarly now the new Italy inscribes its buildings with the same terms, "built in Year X of the Empire."*



pecially the South, to the growing metropolis.<sup>31</sup> They amalgamated many of the Friends, if not always by conversion, at least by love. The enduring "Hicksite," Unitarian, schism occurred early in the nineteenth century, to the great weakening of the force of the Society. Then there was the hardy stock of the Presbyterians, who were constantly locking horns with the Churchmen in all kinds of politics. In 1779 the Trustees of the new University elected Dr. John Ewing, an eminent Presbyterian minister, as Provost by one vote over Dr. White.<sup>32</sup> The Lutherans, outstanding with their Muhlenberg family, and the Baptists were eminent bodies. Down to Bishop Whitaker's day these four Churches were represented by common consent on the board of the University Trustees by their respective leading Ministers, the Episcopalians by their Bishop. Minor German sects there were, Mennonites and Dunkards, whose meeting-houses still stand in Germantown, with a still existent "Monastery" building of another group in the Wissahickon Valley. The German brood developed into infinite varieties to the north.<sup>33</sup> The early Roman Catholics included an aristocratic stock, their first church, St. Joseph's, founded in 1733, being of Jesuit origin.<sup>34</sup> Then there came the Revivalists, most notable of all the compelling George Whitefield, whose equally philanthropic zeal started the Charity School which is claimed as the origin of the University. He was followed at a later day by the spread of Methodism, all which fervor contributed to the rise of the Evangelical movement in the Church, centering in the establishment of St. Paul's Church in the middle of the century—not unnaturally, for both Whitefield and Wesley were Churchmen. However, there were no outstanding native revivalists, like Jonathan Edwards in New England.<sup>35</sup> The Unitarians as a denomination

<sup>31</sup>For a recent and well informed paper on the relations of "Quaker and Episcopalian in Early Pennsylvania," see Prof. G. A. Barton in Dr. L. C. Washburn, *Christ Church* (Philada., 1925), 101-115. For a lively account of the relations and contests of the many religious bodies in the city see Miss Agnes Repplier, *Philadelphia, The Place and the People* (Philada., 1925), of special value in presenting the tradition of the Roman Catholic community, as also in its critical judgment of the Protestant scenery.

<sup>32</sup>White has duly recorded that "Dr. Ewing gained his election by one vote," and then proceeds to comment upon that vote in a way which shows that politics in those days entered into learned institutions; see Wilson, *Memoir*, 73.

<sup>33</sup>For a very readable account of these sects, which included learned men and scientists, see Oberholtzer, pp. 15-33.

<sup>34</sup>See Miss Repplier's volume, and in general Sister Mary Augustina (Ray), *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (N. Y., 1936), and in particular for the subsequent denial to Roman Catholics of citizenship and land-ownership in Pennsylvania and Maryland, pp. 224 ff.

<sup>35</sup>See Norris S. Barratt, *Outline of the History of Old St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia* (Philada., 1917). For an admirable sketch of early St. Peter's see C. P. B. Jefferys' study cited in Note 22. The series of names of the first Anglican churches in the old city is of interest; first, and, properly, Christ Church; then St. Peter's and St. Paul's (founded contemporaneously), representing the

trace back to the great Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1795 and later established himself in his unique hermitage in Northumberland County.<sup>36</sup>

In stark opposition to most of these theologically convinced bodies stand the Deists of the "Illumination," breathing the spirit of the movements across sea. Outstanding among them is the original Franklin, who however remained a religious man. And the list of notables can probably be sifted to find many in the extreme of indifference or absolute negation of religion. There may not have been more indifference towards or denial of religion among the Philosophers then than there exists today among the intellectuals. But the intensity and partisan acerbities of religion of that day cast a more glaring light upon the Indifferent and Infidels.

It is superfluous to picture the brilliant political drama enacted in Philadelphia in the last quarter of that century and to name the actors, the list of whom includes a large proportion of Churchmen, in the Constitutional Convention a predominance. Church historians as well as secular have here to study religion and politics. It is no accident that for the fortunes of the Episcopal Church the same age and the same or likeminded men produced her Constitution—the first ecclesiastical constitution in one document in our Catholic history. It was a time that tried men's hearts, whether one was a Tory like Duché, or a Patriot like White, a furnace of fire for the morale as well as for the mind of the actors. Here in Philadelphia was slowly worked out and consummated one of the marvels in the world's political history. And if we centre our eyes on White, it was that spectroscopic environment which helped to make him of use to the Church.

The above study concerns the eighteenth century, the age in which White grew up and his character was set. By its last decade a change comes over the scene. The young Federation is "post-war" and drab. The French Revolution troubled the political and intellectual ties with France and had serious political repercussions on this side. An unfortunate, if not stupid, war broke off relations with the Mother Country. Democracy was triumphing over the conservative Federalists. Bishop White just survived, in more senses than one, President Jackson's two

*then "High" and "Low" elements; and finally St. James's (founded in 1809). The tradition is that upon the creation of this new church within his parish Bishop White, upon request, selected the name, expressing his particular admiration for the author of the Epistle. And I suppose that theologically he might well be styled Jacobean, rather than Petrine or Pauline.*

<sup>36</sup>Some of White's correspondence with Priestley, dating between 1797 and 1802, is given in Wilson's *Memoir*, 170-186. The late Provost Edgar Fahs Smith of the University, the authority on Priestley's life and his work as a chemist, once told the writer that White was the only Christian Minister in Philadelphia who treated Priestley with courtesy.

terms.<sup>37</sup> With the growing pains of childhood the young Nation was trying to find itself. The same was true of the Church. It is vastly interesting to observe how she educated and trained herself to cope singlehanded with her evangelical duty in a uniquely new world. It was the spade-work time of the vineyard. In the second half of White's life, more particularly by the 'Twenties of the new century, the young fledglings of the Church were becoming vigorous in the Sunday-School Movement, Missions, Theological Education, a deeper and higher Devotion. To the historian White is of interest not so much for himself—he might in other conditions have been one of innumerable forgotten prelates of the Church Catholic, but for his person as partially but integrally representative of the century and especially the city in which he grew up, and for his part in "carrying on" into the fresh century, in which the Church like the Nation was to find itself. Living and holding his own in character and conviction in a society of many diverse currents and antagonisms, he became the Moderator of the young National Church which he assisted in founding.

## II. WHITE AS STUDENT

A Teacher, if not a modern Educator, must be first of all a Student. The above Section has given some idea of White's masters, the flashing Provost Smith, the Graecist Dr. Alison, the Scientist Mr. Kinnerley. The formal programmes of study in the Academy present at least the educational ambitions of the young school. But a large part of the education of a young man in those days lay in the culture of the society which he frequented, and the quality of the representatives of his boyish circle at college, later in friendly coteries, and, if an initiate, in the Philosophical Society. This perspective has been adumbrated above. Professors played a small part in a gentleman's education. At the Academy which had more English than was the wont in American schools of the age, Latin and Greek he had, and could use, as indeed he had to use in lieu of translations; this possession is fully exhibited in White's published and unpublished theological works, all which will be noted below. Exegetical, even text-critical points in

<sup>37</sup>*A memorandum written by Prof. Henry Reed, husband of a granddaughter of the Bishop, now in the possession of a subsequent granddaughter, records a visit of the Bishop to the feeble Chief Justice, John Marshall, who passed away three weeks later, in 1835, the year before White's death. The memorandum is published in the Ninety-eighth Annual Report of the Bishop White P. B. Society (1931), 25 f.*



Scriptures and the Greek and Latin Fathers are studiously treated.<sup>38</sup> As for Hebrew an item in his father's ledger, still extant, has an item for "paying Billy's Hebrew teacher". And there are numerous citations of the Hebrew original in his *Commentaries* and also in the letters published by Wilson; these citations are not made for a show of learning.<sup>39</sup> His preparation for the Ministry was entirely made with the voluntary and private aid of other clergy. He names especially as his tutors the Rev. Dr. Peters, rector of Christ Church (who later received the Doctorate from Oxford University), and the Rev. Dr. Duché, the first graduate of the Academy. The closest approach to seminary work was "a theological exercise," instituted by Provost Smith, and participated in by him and a few other candidates for the Ministry and carried on "during three successive seasons, and within the space of a few months of each, on Sunday evenings . . . in the hall of the old College [the Charity School?], and in the audience of numerous and respectable assemblies. . . . The groundwork of what we wrote and delivered was the history of the Bible," the "compositions" having been "previously corrected by the provost."<sup>40</sup> The "exercise" would belong today to what the Seminarian call the Department of Homiletics. But White speaks modestly of his scholastic attainments: "That portion of my life is now looked back upon, as what might have been much more improved by literary cultivation."<sup>41</sup> For his visits to England for ordination, first for diaconate and priesthood (October 1770-Sept. 1772), and again for the episcopate (Nov. 1786-April 1787), he does not record doing any study. The first journey constituted his *Wanderjahre*. Among the celebrities he became acquainted with were "that giant of genius and literature Dr. Samuel Johnson," and "another literary character", Dr. Goldsmith. It must have been through his particularly scholarly interests that he sought interviews with the immortal Hebraists, Lowth and Kennicott<sup>42</sup> He may well have been disappointed at the scholastic opportunities in the Old Country. He attended one theological examination for A.B., and remarks that: "It

<sup>38</sup>In his *Comparative Views*, I, 94, appears this note: "There having been recently published a translation of Calvin's Institutes, the author, as a guard against any undue bias, has substituted for his own translations, from the Latin, what he finds in the English edition, although, as far as he can judge, they are substantially the same with his own." Even the Protestant Liturgies were read in the Latin (*ib.* II, 110). It would look, then, that up to a late date the good Presbyterian had to know his Latin, as well as the good Catholic. Indeed the one Quaker theologian, R. Barclay, wrote his work in Latin.

<sup>39</sup>The first use of Hebrew types in Philadelphia was in an almanac published in 1726 by Samuel Keimer; see A. S. W. Rosenbach, *American Jewish Bibliography* (Balto., 1926), 29.

<sup>40</sup>See Wilson, *Memoir*, 26-30.

<sup>41</sup>Wilson, p. 30.

<sup>42</sup>Wilson, p. 39 ff.



was slight, although except in Hebrew, not in such a ludicrous degree as is described by Vicesimus Knox, in one of his essays." As to the Hebrew examination he records drily that the question to one of the two candidates was, "What is the meaning of *gabbatha?*, and to the other, "What is the Hebrew of 'My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?'" Which reminds one of similar jolly stories of more modern Canonical Examinations in Hebrew.<sup>43</sup> According to his familiar disciple and biographer, Bird Wilson (pp. 281 f.), he maintained strict habits of study to the end. He makes no reference to any examinations endured by him in England, and it may be surmised that out of courtesy he omitted record of them.

With the lack of anything like a theological education such as existed at Harvard and Yale, primarily schools for the education of the Ministry, the theologian in Philadelphia was thrown back upon books. It is of interest to inquire into the library facilities at the hand of a student like White.

Primarily there was, and is, at Christ Church the first public library established in Philadelphia. This is the Bray Library, only recently "discovered" through the labors of American bibliographers, abetted by the enthusiasm of the Rector, Dr. Washburn, in its material restoration.<sup>44</sup> This and many similar libraries through the Colonies were the foundation of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray of London, the universally energetic friend of our American Colonists, who was inspired after his visit to America in 1699 to found the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and in 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.<sup>45</sup> For the library in Christ Church reference can be conveniently made to Dr. Washburn's story. Bray's "Register" enumerates under proper bibliographical classification some 250 titles, of

<sup>43</sup>Wilson, pp. 38 f.

<sup>44</sup>Bishop John F. Hurst, "Parochial Libraries in the Colonial Period," in *Papers of the Am. Society of Church History*, II, pt. 1, 37-50 (1890); B. C. Steiner, "Rev. Thomas Bray and his American Libraries," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, II (1896-97), 57-75; Rev. Thomas Bray (Maryland Hist. Soc. Fund Publication, No. 37, 1901); A. B. Keep, chapter on "The Bray Library, or the Library of Trinity Parish, 1698-1776," in *History of the N. Y. Society Library* (1908), 8-42—which library is likewise the oldest in New York City. The second of these publications, p. 67, notes libraries established by Bray in Boston, New York City, East Jersey, Pennsylvania, Charleston, and sixteen in Maryland, of date 1699. Dr. Keep presents another list naming Boston, Long Island, East Jersey, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg. Dr. Washburn's lucid account of the local Bray Library appears in his *Christ Church*, 157-162, with two plates, and reproduction of Dr. Bray's manuscript "Register." Eighteen titles are devoted to "Physiology, Anatomy, Chirurgery, and Medicine," which constitute, as Dr. Washburn justly claims, the oldest medical library in Philadelphia. The writer's thanks are due to him for his generous readiness to display these treasures, and to Mr. C. Seymour Thompson, Librarian of the University Library, for the bibliographical references, as also for full data on library bibliography given below.

<sup>45</sup>See Sir Edward Midwinter in this Magazine, June, 1935.

which over 30 per cent is non-theological. The books were "to be lent or given at the discretion of the Ministry." The extensive remains of this collection of books of beautiful print are now deposited in the muniment vault of the Washburn House, Christ Church Yard. Further gifts came to this parochial library; in 1741 a number of valuable volumes were given by the Rector, Rev. Archibald Cummings; a minute of the Vestry in 1753 acknowledged reception of 347 volumes to the S. P. G., which had devoted a recently acquired legacy of £100 to this purpose; and again a clergyman in Kent in 1789 (immediately after the War!) presented copies of Kennicott's *Variorum Bible* and Castell's *Polyglot Dictionary to the Bible and its versions*.<sup>46</sup>

The private library of James Logan, which had been of use to his friends in his lifetime, was deeded by him to the public use; this became effective at his death in 1751. Finally in 1792 it was annexed, by legislative action, to the Library Company of Philadelphia, founded in 1731 by Franklin and his friends, and chartered in 1741. The original gift is said to have included more than 2,000 volumes, which were added to by the testator's younger brother William. This valuable collection is preserved still in the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company on South Broad Street.<sup>47</sup>

The library of the American Philosophical Society, rather strictly scientific, may have been of less use to a theologian, but a contemporary catalogue enumerates 268 titles under Religion, including many important Biblical and theological works.<sup>48</sup>

Another library at White's command was that of his Alma Mater the Academy, later the College, then the University. This includes a large gift of volumes in 1784 from Louis XVI of France, all prints of the *Imprimerie Royale*. The surviving remains of this library down to 1829 are now carefully cared for and indexed in a special room of the Library of the University, known as the Founders' Collection.<sup>49</sup>

But it would be fallacious to think that these were "free and open" libraries in the modern sense of the word. (There is a story told of a not very distant Harvard librarian: Asked how his library was doing,

<sup>46</sup>*Washburn*, p. 164; *B. Dorr, Hist. Account of Christ Church* (N. Y., *Philada.*, 1841), 103.

<sup>47</sup>See *Catalogue of the Books Belonging to the Loganian Library; to which is prefixed a Short Account of the Institution* (*Philada.*, 1837). The English titles number 754, those in "Greek, Latin, French, Italian, etc.," 2407. For the later Company see G. M. Abbot, *A Short History of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (1913).

<sup>48</sup>*Catalogue of the Library of the A. P. S.*, 1824.

<sup>49</sup>There exists a *Catalogue of Books belonging to the Library of the Univ. of Penna.*, of date 1829, which makes the documentary basis of this collection. The recovery and care of it is due to the interest of the Librarian, Mr. C. Seymour Thompson, who also has published a full account of the royal gift in the *Univ. Penna. Library Chronicle*, Oct. and Dec., 1934.

he replied that it was all safe and sound, just one volume out and he was now on the way to collect it.) In those days a scholar had to acquire his own books, importing them through his London agent, the value and nature of his collection depending upon his means and interests. The writer has elsewhere presented the known facts about White's library and the final fate of his books and book cases. The surviving volumes are of a truly catholic character, not only Anglican but as well the works of the divines of all orders of thought, although the Patristic texts, which were once on hand and seen by the present writer, have disappeared. The permanent memorial of White's library room, in his last home, now 309 Walnut Street (built by him in 1787), exists in John Sartain's fine engraving reproduced in Bronson's *Memoir*, opposite p. 267; it is a copy of the still existent picture in oils. It is the only picture of a library interior of that age the writer knows of, and it must have been of sufficient interest for the distinguished artist to desire to reproduce.<sup>50</sup>

### III. WHITE AS TEACHER

White was never a Professor, as he might have been, if the election to the Provostship when Dr. Ewing was chosen, had been reversed—in which case he might have become Professor of Moral Philosophy or the like. But his business both as citizen and ecclesiastic involved him in many lines of education. It seems best to notice first his extra-ecclesiastical activities in the field.

#### (1) AS A LEADER IN PUBLIC AND INSTITUTIONAL EDUCATION

For fifty years White was a Trustee of the Academy-University. In earlier days the Trustees of a College felt and exercised a far greater responsibility for the inner discipline of their institutions than do their modern successors. Now, with practically permanent faculties, possessing the right of nominating to their membership, the Trustees have become largely a body of broad policy and, peculiarly, finance.<sup>51</sup> White accordingly had his responsibilities for education in Alma Mater for half a century. Further, White was first president of "The Old Sunday School Society," established about 1800, "consisting of members

<sup>50</sup>J. A. Montgomery, in his article on "Bishop White's Business" in the booklet *Advancing the Kingdom* (Episco. Tract Soc. of Philada., 1934), pp. 40 f.

<sup>51</sup>Provost C. J. Stillé resigned in 1880 because of the action of the Trustees in overriding him and the faculty in a case of discipline. White speaks of his father, who as a Trustee was "a diligent attendant on the meetings and examinations"; Wilson, p. 289.



of different denominations, and the first instituted in the United States" (on which subject more below). He was one of our founders of the distinguished Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, and served as its first president from its incorporation in 1820 until his death.<sup>52</sup> He was the first president of the Philadelphia Bible Society, founded in 1808, "the earliest Bible Society in the United States," which activity is properly to be listed in the field of what is now called Christian Education.<sup>53</sup> A specific instance of White's interest in education lies in connection with the disposition of a legacy of a Philadelphia citizen, John Keble (d. 1807), for such charitable objects as might be appointed by Bishop White and other named persons. These gentlemen proceeded in 1823 to establish the Keble Charity School under the control of the University, they "conceiving that the promotion of education among the poor was the most efficient charity, and having full confidence in the stability of the University."<sup>54</sup>

## (2) AS A FOUNDER OF CHURCH SCHOOLS

But of particular interest to Churchmen are the two schools White was concerned in founding, one a local, primary school, the other a General Seminary for the training of the Ministry. The former is the Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, created by White and notable associates—Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, Francis Hopkinson, Abraham Markoe, Richard Peters, and other notable names—in 1785. Of this Academy White was the first President, serving until his death. Its first Master, Dr. John Andrews, later became first Vice-Provost, then Provost of the University of Pennsylvania (1791-1810, 1810-1813).<sup>55</sup>

Only brief reference is needed here to the institution of our Church's first and leading school for the Ministry, the General Seminary. Its

<sup>52</sup>The now somewhat rare black and white full-length portrait of White in his old age (reproduced in Washburn, *Christ Church*, opp. p. 222) was drawn by Albert Newsam, a deaf and dumb boy whom White discovered on the streets, and who became through him one of the first scholars in the Institution. For White's connection with this school see the writer's article in *Report of the Proceedings of the 22d Meeting of the Joint Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf* (Government Printing Office, 1921, 204 ff.), reprinted in Washburn, *Christ Church*, 241 ff.

<sup>53</sup>White's memorandum of his membership in these and other public agencies is reproduced by Wilson, pp. 289 f.

<sup>54</sup>G. B. Wood, *Early History*, 187 f. Dr. Wood estimated the income at the time of his writing (1896) at about \$1,000. Modern public school education, as worthy of the name, dates back to Horace Mann's great contribution to the cause, the centennial of which will be celebrated in 1937. With him Massachusetts led the way in enforcing the education of children.

<sup>55</sup>For the historical data see the booklet published by the Academy, *Enhancing a Great Tradition* (1935). N. B. White's note on the founding in Wilson, p. 74.



story, covering "125 years, 1821-1936," has just now been told in this *Magazine* in five articles of authority and great interest, to which reference must be cavalierly made.<sup>56</sup> The Seminary arose out of the concern, especially of the Bishops, who were perforce the tutors of all Ordinands, for the theological education of the latter, for the Church had no colleges which arose out of this prime necessity of education for the university, like Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. Both Bishop White and Bishop Hobart were at first opposed to the establishment of a "General Seminary" in New York City, although for somewhat different reasons. In the end they surrendered their objections and fully cooperated. Bishop White became, *ex officio*, the first President of the Board and continued as such until his death. His pronouncements in this development of education can be followed up in Dr. Hardy's ample citations. Five Addresses to the Trustees, Professors and Students of the G. T. S. of dates 1822, 1824, 1827, 1828, 1829, were published in pamphlet form.<sup>57</sup> Of the early Faculty three were White's pupils, indeed his intimate younger friends, Bishop Hobart, Dr. Samuel H. Turner, Dr. Bird Wilson, on whom more will be said below.

### (3) AS DIRECTOR OF PAROCHIAL EDUCATION

Under this head the historian thinks of the establishment of the Sunday School. But preliminary notice may be taken of an earlier educational activity on the part of the Anglican churches, the Parochial or Day School, for the education of poor children. This was a recognized part of Christian benevolence, inherited from the Old Country, active not only in New England. The German Protestants in the counties north of Philadelphia established such schools contemporary with, or even preceding building of the churches. Only scanty items concerning the parochial school of Christ Church have been published. In 1709 there is mention of "a school house." In 1718 Governor Keith is respectfully requested to inform the Bishop of London of "the unhappy condition of the Church in this place for a long time past, for want of an able and sufficient school-master to educate our children," and prays for "continuance of the royal bounty, formerly granted to the minister and school-master of this place." In 1766 "the school house was now vacant," and was appropriated for use as a clergy-house. Such are the few available data at the writer's hand.<sup>58</sup> The

<sup>56</sup>*Quarterly Part for September, 1936, with articles by Drs. Hardy (on "The Early Years"), Chorley, Manross, Gates, Mr. Mampoteng. For the question of the actual date of founding, compare Dr. Hardy, p. 154, and Dr. Gates, p. 238.*

<sup>57</sup>*Wilson, p. 307.*

<sup>58</sup>*See Dorr, Christ Church, pp. 37, 43 f., 157 f. Dr. Washburn can give no further information on this early parochial enterprise.*

parochial school had evidently flickered out before White's incumbency. But it had its resumption through his leadership in the founding of the Parish Day School of St. Peter's Church (under his rectorship until his death) in 1834. This School has been maintained ever since, becoming a Choir Day School in Dr. Nelson's rectorship, and is now famous in the art of Church Music through the name and work of its distinguished Head Master, Mr. Harold W. Gilbert. This is the oldest, probably only, Parochial School of our Church in Philadelphia, with a tradition that goes back for nearly 250 years.

Yet another educational enterprise in Christ Church, preceding White's rectorship, was "a catechetical school for negroes," noted in the minutes of the vestry in 1746, for which an application to the S. P. G. had procured a subvention of "£30. per annum for the settling a catechetical lecturer in the church in Philadelphia, for the instruction of negroes and others," and the Rev. William Sturgeon, "a young gentleman of Yale College," offered his services and was appointed to the post, serving also as Assistant to the Rector, Dr. Janney. In 1758 the Bray Associates took vigorous hold of this work and opened a school for "the Blacks." It was a work in which Benjamin Franklin and Francis Hopkinson especially interested themselves. The last datum on this school is of date 1806. The story has been brilliantly told by the Rev. E. L. Pennington from original sources.<sup>59</sup>

This appears to have been the initial enterprise in the Northern Colonies for the religious instruction of that race. There was thus historical precedent in Christ Church for the further development in religious education which White introduced.

The first authoritative reference to a Sunday School appears in a minute of Christ Church Vestry, of date November 3, 1788: "The rector laid before the vestry a plan of a free school for boys, to be under the care of the trustees of the Episcopal Academy, intended to include, when sufficient funds should be raised, a Sunday School, as also a school for girls. Whereupon, resolved, that the rector and assistant ministers of these United Churches may annually, in the month of May, preach sermons for the benefit of the said charity schools." From which it appears that appeals for extra-ecclesiastical contributions had to be approved by the Vestry. And so in Christ Church the proposition of a Sunday School was first made, and later actually effected. More than that, to quote Dr. Washburn: "The plan deeply interested Benjamin Rush, among others. These men drew in others without the parish sphere of influence, notably Quakers,—and in 1790 formed

<sup>59</sup>"*The work of the Bray Associates in Pennsylvania.*" *Penna. Mag. of History and Biography*, LVIII (1934), 1-25. *Dorr's references to this school from the minutes are scanty, only for 1746-49, 1754, 1763.*

the First Day Society. Bishop White was chosen its president." This was the first Sunday School Association in our American religious history. The earliest record of a Sunday School is of one established by the Rev. Messrs. Jackson Kemper and James Milnor in a hall in Northern Liberties (the township to the north of the city), in 1814—to quote Mr. Michael, "the first school officially incorporated by any religious organization in America."<sup>60</sup> This institution was followed in 1816 by the establishment of a Sunday School in Christ Church under the patronage of the three United Parishes and St. Paul's.

#### (4) AS CATECHIST

Commentators upon the history of the Colonial Church are wont to expand their interest upon the lack of "Grace of Orders." They omit an equally important lack, and one more concrete, psychologically, which means, as God Himself created man: the absolute failure in the preparation of the Churchman for his full rights and responsibilities such as is met by the Church's Catechism and its attendant discipline. Even the Candidates who went to England for ordination were not required to be confirmed there in advance of that rite.<sup>61</sup> If our Colonial Ministry had boldly instituted some form of Admission to Communion with proper instruction, it had been well. We can only suppose that adults came of their own motion to the Lord's Table, with what fittleness there was none to judge. It is little wonder that such men as George Washington never communed. And it is very understandable that the Evangelical movements of the eighteenth century attracted hosts of Churchmen because of their demand for Conversion and Public Profession of Faith.

It was as a product of this new demand upon the Church's duty and power that about twenty-five years after his consecration White published his *Lectures on the Catechism . . . with Supplementary Lectures, One on the Ministry, the Other on the Publick Service, and Dissertations on Select Subjects* (Philada., N. Y., Baltimore, 1813, pp. xi, 506). We may suppose that the volume was, as is true of all worthy books, the product of long cogitation and exercise. Of it 151 pages form a current commentary on the Catechism, concluding with the Sacraments and a lecture on Confirmation. The volume was a

<sup>60</sup>See O. S. Michael, *The Sunday School in the Development of the American Church* (Milw., 1904), ch. 2 (the citation, p. 64), and Dr. Washburn's succinct article in his *Christ Church*, 249-261.

<sup>61</sup>White, *Commentaries on Ordination* (see under Section 5), 220-222. Nor must it be supposed that the newly made Bishops of the Church at once proceeded to confirm all the unconfirmed. The restoration of Confirmation came in with a new generation.



much needed instruction for the intelligent layman in his Religion and his Church and her ways. If it looks stupendous to the modern Catechist and his Catechumens, we have to remember that the forefathers took their religion with intellectual seriousness and so present a criticism of our modern easy-going adherence to the Faith, or otherwise. The Catechism in those days meant "an Instruction."

Dr. Washburn, to whom the writer has often turned for information, recalls that most of White's preaching was actually teaching. He is corroborated by his biographer Wilson's authoritative statement (p. 290): "As a preacher, the Bishop's talents and manner were not popular. Yet he was much esteemed for his judicious and solid instructions, both in doctrine and morality."

Finally under this heading should be named three publication societies which White was instrumental in founding: The Episcopal Tract Society of Philadelphia, in 1810, the Bishop White Prayer Book Society in 1834 and the Bishop White Female P. B. Society at the same time on the great merits of which organizations more cannot be said here. But they illustrate his interest in religious education.

### (5) AS THEOLOGICAL TUTOR

White as ecclesiastical Annalist wrote his *Memoirs of the P. E. Church*.<sup>62</sup> As Theologian he produced two considerable works. The one published is *Comparative Views of the Controversy between the Calvinists and the Arminians*, 2 volumes, of over 1,050 pages (Philada., 1817). The other, of which the manuscript is preserved, is *A Counter Apology for the Divinity of the Holy Scriptures, in a Review of the Apology of Robert Barclay on the Same Subject*, on which White was engaged in the years 1815-1833, and the publication of which, according to the writer's final memorandum, appeared to be rendered unnecessary by the recent rise of the Hicksite schism within the Friends. And indeed this schism was a logical outcome of the Quaker position, although the Conservatives called themselves Orthodox.<sup>63</sup> Beyond a student's recognition of White's critical acquaintance with his learned authorities, the present writer can give no discussion of White's ability

<sup>62</sup>Philada., 1820; ed. 2, 1836; ed. by B. F. DeCosta with *Appendixes*, N. Y., 1880.

<sup>63</sup>See Bronson, pp. 315 f. *The Manuscript has been given by a descendant to Christ Church, and now lies in Washburn House. A recent survey and criticism of this work by a distinguished scholar who knows both sides of the "controversy" are given in Prof. G. A. Barton's article, "Episcopalian and Quaker," in Washburn's Christ Church, 101-115. As that scholar notes, the work is about twice the size of Barclay's Apology. The volume is the only attempt ever made in answer to Barclay, who himself remains the one and only Quaker theological Apologist.*



as a theologian. He was not such in the sense of anything constructive, but was what would be called today a critical theologian.<sup>64</sup> There is also a long list of various minor publications of his, religious and theological, named in Wilson's *Memoir*, pp. 305-314, to which is added a list of unpublished writings, pp. 315-318.

As with the novel necessity of introducing a catechetical education for the laity who had had no such instruction in the absence of the Rite of Confirmation, so still more with the exigency of training men for the Sacred Ministry; it became at once the duty of the fresh Bishops of the young Church to face this their peculiar responsibility. And as White wrote his *Lectures on the Catechism* for the first situation, so he composed another, much briefer volume, for the second, *Commentaries Suited to Occasions of Ordination*.<sup>65</sup> The volume is practical, the first two parts, "On the Questioning in the Office for the Ordaining of Deacons," and "On the Questioning in the Office for the Ordaining of Priests," being catechetical, while the third, "On the Duties of the Publick Ministry," is a pastoral instruction. In the Prefatory Address to the volumes the author states that "the Commentary" was read during the examinations, subsequently was given to the Ordinands to be "read in retirement, with meditation and prayer" (anticipating later Quiet Days!). This "Commentary" was in part at first—for how many years is not told—in manuscript form, then subsequently printed in the *Magazine*, from which off-prints were made for Ordinands, but these copies being reduced to two, the fresh edition was demanded. The date of the magazine articles is contemporary with the movement which culminated in the establishment of the General Seminary. More important to the historian than the theological contents of these Commentaries, which are not of original value, are the statements made in the preface concerning the sad conditions confronting the Church, "our ministry having become almost annihilated, during the war of the Revolution." There is to be compared the capital concise review of the con-

<sup>64</sup>For a recent unprejudiced review of White's theology see the Rev. Dr. L. C. Lewis' "Notes on the Theology of Bishop White," in the booklet of the Episcopal Tract Society, noted above, *Advancing the Kingdom*, 17-23. Attention may here be called to a perhaps little known volume entitled, *Bishop White's Opinions*, 186 pp., published by H. M. Onderdonk & Co., N. Y., 1846. This book is arranged in catechetical form: White's opinions on a long series of religious and theological questions are asked for, and the answers are given from fully documented citations of his printed works. E. g., it assembles, pp. 170-174, three "Opinions" on Dr. Hobart from White's printed addresses. A similar brief exposition of his opinions, with citations, has been published by the Episcopal Tract Society of Philadelphia, Bishop White and the American Episcopal Church (n. d.).

<sup>65</sup>N. Y., 1833, pp. 251. The volume is "a new edition" of a series of articles published in the *Quarterly Theol. Mag. and Religious Repository* in 1813-1814 (Wilson, p. 306). It was published with the "Recommendations" of Bishops Griswold, Brownell, Ives, H. U. Onderdonk, and others.

ditions in which the Church in particular and religion in general found themselves about the turn of the centuries given by the Rev. W. H. Stowe in this *Magazine*, 1935, 165 f. And "there opened on us two sources of sorrow." First, there was the evil quality of "some men" who had been admitted to the ministry (*via* of course English orders). And "the other cause of regret was, in some ministers, deviations from the clear record of those answers in the services, which give the pledge of adherence to our liturgy; and of submission to an authority recognized by our system of ecclesiastical government, and by the Canon," a conduct that cannot "be vindicated by any professions of piety, supposing them to be sincere." This last severe castigation remains of permanent value. If we may abandon the much bandied-about terms of "High" and "Low" (which latter designation White once publicly and indignantly denied for himself in the partisan sense in which it was proposed), White was a "Strong" Churchman, after the Anglican type, or to use Dr. Hardy's terms, a Churchman of "the Central Anglican School."<sup>66</sup>

A story is told of a certain English schoolmaster who was accustomed to take his hat off to his scholars; when asked why, he replied that "there might be some future Bishops among them." Bishop White might prophetically have made a similar courteous gesture in the spirit to his "Boys," in a diocese which covered all Pennsylvania and Delaware, for whose theological preparation he was responsible for a third of a century, until at least the founding of the Church's first Seminary.<sup>67</sup> "By their fruits ye shall know them," and this is peculiarly true of the teacher. And White's pupils included a list of remarkable names, the glory of a new age in the American Church, only some of whom may be named here, all of whom testify their gratitude to one who was both Teacher and Friend.

White as Teacher contributed four notable men to New York City, and so to the Church at large. Three of these were professors in the original Faculty of the General Theological Seminary, of whom two were theologians "of the chair," namely, Dr. Bird Wilson (Univ. Penna., B.A., 1792, D.D. 1821), the first professor of Dogmatic Theology (1821-1850), and Dr. Samuel H. Turner (Univ. Penna., B.A. 1807), Professor of Historic Theology, then of Biblical Learning (1818-21, 1821-61). Bishop White's intimate relations with James Wilson the Signer and his son Bird have been noticed above, as also the *Memorial* of the latter by W. White Bronson. Dr. Hardy gives a brief but competent sketch of his work and personality in his cited article,

<sup>66</sup>For the anecdote see *Descendants of Col. Thos. White*, 39.

<sup>67</sup>Mr. Stowe notes, *op. cit.*, p. 156, that in 1835 Pennsylvania had 27 candidates for Holy Orders, of whom eleven were in the Seminary.

pp. 168 f. His one published volume is the *Memoir* of his Bishop and Tutor. Professor Turner, also Philadelphia born, was a notable scholar in both Old and New Testament, with a long list of publications to his credit. In his *Autobiography*, which presents a scrupulous account of his early studies, he reports on his work under White; he visited him regularly in his study for over three years, at first once every two weeks, later once a month; he faults the Bishop for never having examined him, but records the perfect candor of the Bishop and his insistence that both sides of any argument should be fully considered.<sup>68</sup>

Two other of White's pupils are more outstanding in the Church's roll of fame. One of these was the apostle of the new order of Churchmanship, John Henry Hobart. Born in Philadelphia, he studied in the Episcopal Academy, later in the University, but thence he proceeded to "the College at Princeton," graduating with B.A. in 1793 and then serving brilliantly there as tutor in the Classics. Bishop White confirmed him, ordained him to the diaconate and priesthood, consecrated him Bishop in 1811, and survived him (1830), sadly to mourn his death. This is not the place, nor has the writer the authority, to enlarge upon Hobart, whose vigorous figure shines clear in our history. It is sufficient to note that the relations of mutual respect and affection between Tutor and Scholar continued to their life's end. But in line with our theme it may be noted that Hobart continued his Tutor's theological functions as teacher, serving as Professor of Pastoral Theology in the General Seminary until his death, so making three professors that Pennsylvania and its Bishop contributed to the beginnings of that first School of Theology in our Church.<sup>69</sup>

Yet another remarkable man was given through White to New York and to the Church, also a born Philadelphian, William Augustus Muhlenberg (A.B., Univ. Penna., 1815).<sup>70</sup> Among the Churchmen of Philadelphia, and of probably those of the Middle and Southern States, he is the first of a long line of "proselytes" to the Episcopal Church who have adorned it in faith and works. He came of a distinguished Evangelical Lutheran line, the great-grandson of the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the Founder and Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America. A son of his, Peter, received ordination in both the An-

<sup>68</sup>*Autobiography* (N. Y., 1863), 22 ff. His bibliography is given in this *Magazine*, 1936, p. 261. Turner also reports, p. 50, that about 1815, he organized in his early cure one of the first Sunday schools.

<sup>69</sup>J. F. Schroeder in his *Memorial of Bishop Hobart* (N. Y., 1831), describes briefly Hobart's two years of study under White, for which purpose he returned from Princeton to Philadelphia. In William Berrian's *Memoir*, p. 51, Hobart is cited on his early studies, in which "the Bible is ranked first," just as Turner reports.

<sup>70</sup>See (Sister) Anne Ayres, *Life and Work of Muhlenberg* (N. Y., 1889); W. W. Newton, *Dr. Muhlenberg* (Boston and N. Y., 1890).



glican and the Lutheran Churches, and became withal a Major-General in the American Army. William Augustus was "converted," providentially, by attendance at the newly founded St. James's Church, in Christ Church Parish. After graduation he read for orders under the Rev. Jackson Kemper, Assistant in the Parish, and engaged in bi-weekly "seminars" with the Bishop, in which the Candidates read papers on subjects chosen by the Bishop.<sup>71</sup> This preparation lasted for two and a half years, 1815-1817. Muhlenberg was not a theologian like others of his fellows from Pennsylvania, already listed under that title; but he resembled his Tutor in his interest in educational, social and philanthropic work, as founder of his St. Paul's College at Flushing for boys; of St. Johnland, the first "social settlement" in the country; of the Church of the Holy Communion, the most notable early "Free Church" in our communion; of the first Sisterhood; and finally of St. Luke's Hospital in New York. But he added through his German and Evangelical descent a poetic and artistic element which was sorely needed in our Church. By nature a poet, one whose hymns survive, since the days of his youthful ministry in St. James's Church he was devoted to Church music and was a practical developer of it in the Church's ritual, in this following a godly tradition in Christ Church, as witness Francis Hopkinson, and White's interest. Indeed he may well be called a Ritualist, if by that may be meant one possessed with the beauty of the Church's service and the meaning of her Church year. He and Hobart were different types of men in the fast-growing variations within our ecclesiastical biology, but they possessed much that was radically in common. Hobart stressed the term "Catholic," Muhlenberg was an "Evangelical Catholic." It is of interest to observe that these notable leaders independently and with originality antedated the coming of the Oxford Movement to our shores. And the *Memorial to the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Council assembled*, presented in 1853, drawn up by Muhlenberg and a number of distinguished associates, was prophetic not only for the American but also the Anglican Church at large in its prospect of "effecting of a Church unity in the Protestant Christendom of our land."<sup>72</sup>

One other *nomen clarum*, and *in fine* because he represents the new missionary movement and the Great West, is Jackson Kemper. A pupil of Dr. Hobart's, he came to Bishop White for ordination to the Diaconate by reason of his Diocesan, Bishop Moore's illness. He was promptly made Assistant Minister in the United Churches, holding this post from 1811-1831, becoming the first missionary Bishop in 1835.

<sup>71</sup>Ayres, p. 39.

<sup>72</sup>For this *Memorial and the accompanying exposition* see Anne Ayres' edition of *Muhlenberg's Evangelical Catholic Papers, First Series* (N. Y., 1875), 77 ff.



His fame is that of the Great Missionary, which career he actively began under Bishop White. In the present connection it should be recorded that he served his Bishop also as theological tutor to Muhlenberg and others;<sup>73</sup> and further, as noted above, he and his colleague Mr. Milnor assisted their Bishop-Rector in founding in 1814 the first Sunday school in America.<sup>74</sup>

The permanent worth of the teacher is revealed in his scholars. White founded no school of thought, but he educated his students to think for themselves. For this he deserves well of the Church.

<sup>73</sup>Ayres, p. 39; he "and two fellow students recited regularly to Mr. Kemper."

<sup>74</sup>See H. M. Stuckert, "Jackson Kemper, Presbyterian," in this Magazine, 1935, 130-151.

## LETTERS

WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR

Bishop White carried on an extensive correspondence spread over a period of many years. Fortunately for posterity an unusual number of these letters have been preserved. There are over a hundred in the Maryland Diocesan Library; others in the Pennsylvania Historical Society and in the Archives of the General Convention, the latter of which are in the temporary custody of the New York Historical Society. Some are to be found in the J. P. Morgan Library, New York, and others are in the private collection of Professor Howard C. Robbins of the General Theological Seminary and Mr. W. Ives Rutter, Jr., secretary of the Church Historical Society.

The following have been selected as shedding light upon the Bishop's views and varied activities:

*To Peters, Rev. Richard*<sup>1</sup>

Revd & dear Sir,

LONDON Novr 30th 1770

It is with the greatest Pleasure I embrace the first Opportunity of writing to those I love. The many Obligations I have received from Mr. Peters encourage me to rank him among my best Friends & I choose to trouble him with a Letter by the Way of New-York, rather than delay writing to him these three Months, for we shall have no Vessel sailing for Philada in a shorter Time than that.

The Letters you was kind enough to write in my Favor I have not received & perhaps they are not arrived. Mr. Penn<sup>2</sup> to whose care they were directed will not be in Town till Christmas. But very probably he will send them to me, when he receives some Letters I brought for him, which I left at his House to be sent to Stoke. The Watch you commissioned me to buy for your Nephew Tommy, I will procure in a few Days without waiting for your Money from the Bishop—for that money I presume I am not to receive till his Lordship has your Letter which is inclosed to the Proprietary.

A few Days since I waited upon his Lordship<sup>3</sup> & was much pleased to find him that polite & condescending Man you represented him. He commended my bringing a Certificate of my

<sup>1</sup>Rector of the united churches of Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup>William Penn.

<sup>3</sup>Rt. Rev. Dr. Richard Terrick, Bishop of London.



1695 — CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA — 1936

*"Held by the bond of divine desire  
To lift, as Christ Church lifts its spire,  
America up to the gate that bars  
Only the evil from God's stars."*





Age & said he did not like to depart from the stated Age for Priests Orders. As to giving me Deacons Orders at present, he had but one Objection, which was the Danger of my preaching about in London without any fixed Place, but hoped I would have Prudence enough to avoid that; I told him that I should submit entirely to his Lordships Advice, which indeed suits very well with my Inclination. In the Course of Conversation the Bishop advised me to spend some of my Time in one of the Universities; I expect to do so but cannot be long there as I chuse to be a good Part of my Time in London & must spend some Share of it with my Aunts in Twickenham. My Relations here have given me so kind & affectionate a Reception as in some Measure compensates for my Distance from the best of Parents. Tomorrow I pay them a second Visit & write my Letters now lest I should not return in Time for the Packet.

By every Vessel from Philada I hope to hear that you enjoy a perfect State of Health & shall be very proud if I am sometimes permitted to hear of it from under your own Hand-Wishing you every other Blessing with it, I am Revd & dear Sir, your obliged & affectionate Friend

Wm White

P. S. If I am favored with a Line from you, I would have it directed to be left at ye Pensylvania Coffee House.

*To Peters, Rev. Richard*

*(August 1771)*

Revd & dear Sir

I take the earliest Opportunity of acknowledging the Receipt of your obliging & affectionate Letter. Your bad State of Health gave me great Concern but I flatter myself the Summer has already restored it. May I take the Liberty Sir to enquire whether your good Flow of Spirits does not make you sometimes overrate your Strength & lead you thro too much Fatigue. From what I would observe of your Illness, riding & the Country Air seemed your best Remedies & I trust you are now making Use of them.

I am lately returned from a pleasant Tour which has taken up above 5 Weeks of my Time; three of them were spent at Bath & the rest in Oxford. From Bath I took a Ride to Bristol where I had the Pleasure of seeing your Nephew but could have little Conversation with him as my Stay there was but a Day. My Time passed very agreeably in Oxford, chiefly at Worcester College & Magdalen. I had a Friend in each of these before I went & found two Beds at my Service: I accepted of one at Worcester, it being the first in my offer tho Magdalen would have been preferable to it, being more central.

Among my Letters I had one to Dr. Kennicott, a Canon

of Christs Church who has been engaged these ten Years past in collecting Hebrew Manuscripts of the old Testament. You are no doubt acquainted with his Name & Character; he shewed me his Collection & the different Readings (very numerous indeed) which he had selected. It is to you Sir, I am indebted that I could appear to know a little of the Language he is such a Master of. The Dr. presented me with the Account of his ten Years past Labor & with several Copies of his Proposals for the future Encouragement of the Works, one of which I shall enclose, as it may possibly amuse you—I was in all the Chapels, Libraries & Gardens of the several Colleges & believe I saw every Thing that was remarkable in Oxford. There are to be great Improvements in the Town; it will have a new Pavement & many old Buildings are to be destroyed. During my Stay there the Signs were pulled down which has already made a Difference in the Appearance of the Place. From Oxford I made Excursions to Stowe, Blenheim & Ditchley, Places which you are well acquainted with.

At Twickenham I have great Pleasure in the Vicars Company whom you may probably recollect at Waddam College. His Name is Costard, he was Fellow of that College while you resided in it; it gave him great Pleasure to have some Account of one he knew there. Mr. Costard is much respected in Twickenham & at Oxford he is esteemed one of their best Scholars. It was this Gentlemans Recommendation that introduced me to Dr. Kennicott & to a Mr. Swinton whom you must remember, for he knew you at Waddam & in your last Visit to England. He is reckoned one of the Curiosities of the University.

Accept of my Thanks Sir for your affectionate Advice; it comes from one whom I would always chuse to receive it from. As to your Caution against preaching too often, I cannot but concur in your Sentiments on that Subject; I preach but seldom & then it is for the Sake of giving Assistance where it is much desired. Sometimes indeed I would chuse to speak in Publick, not having thrown aside that Backwardness which every young Man feels.

I will trouble you Sir to present my Compliments to Mr. Duche; I received his Letter & intended acknowledging it by this Opportunity. But writing to my Relations has taken longer Time than I expected; the Bag will go from the Coffee House within this Hour, so Mr. Duche will excuse my postponing it till the next Vessel. I am Revd & dear Sir, your affectionate & obliged Friend

Wm. White

P. S. I have 4.10 of ye Money I received from the Bishop of London remaining in my Hands. When I was at Bath, I often saw the Bishop in the Pump-Room & he enquired very particularly after your Health.

*To Peters, Rev. Richard\**

Revd & dear Sir,

Your Letter dated May 22d gave me very great Pleasure, as it assured me you was recovering from your late illness. I am very glad you have the Prospect of Assistance in your pastoral Duty, for a little Relief from it will certainly be the best Means of confirming you in a good State of Health.

I have been but little in London since the Receipt of your Letter & therefore was obliged to defer executing your Commission with Regard to the Books & Payment of your annual Subscription to the Society's Treasurer; for five years I have already paid him & when the sixth is paid for, will send you ye Receipts together. I enquired of Mr. Stone ye Price of a Gown & Cassock of ye best Prunella with a silk Sash & find it will amount to £7.12. This you desire I will bring to America with me.

My Obligations Sir, for the kind Regard you are pleased to express for me, can never be sufficiently acknowledged. I should be very unworthy that Regard could I even wish it would lead you to an unbecoming Partiality, especially in Matters where the least Degree of it would be much to blame. You assure me that your Inclinations are to do what is right, affectionate & kind to all—I was always convinced of the Truth of this, nor can I conceive that the most jealous Mind could take Exceptions to your Conduct, unless falsely represented.

The greatest Part of this Summer I have spent in Twickenham, where I am very happy in ye Company of my Relations and other agreeable Acquaintance. I am afraid this pleasant Retreat will deprive me of several Tours which at first I proposed to make.

The Summers of England delight me beyond Measure & this in particular is said to be a very good one. The Country is so fine this Season that I am become quite indifferent to London; especially as most of my Friends are retired from it to their several Seats.

Tho my Time passes agreeably here, I look forward with great Pleasure to the Time when I hope to meet my Friends in Philada. Next April will make my Age compleat & as soon as my second Orders can be obtained, the first Opportunity shall bring me home, if it please God to continue me alive & well; firmly hoping that I shall then meet you in a Good State of Health, I am dear & Revd Sir, your affectionate Friend & humble Servant

Wm. White

P. S. I will beg you Sir, when you see Dr. Smith to make my respectful Compliments to him.

Twickenham, Aug. 20th 1771

\*Rector, United Churches of Philadelphia

*To Seabury, Rt. Rev. Samuel*

*February 1, 1786*

Rt Revd Father in God

I had ye Honor of your Letter by Mr. Wood & unhappy in ye Oppy of apologizing for not sooner furnishing you, with ye Journal of ye late Convention & ye Sheets of our proposed P. Book.

The Truth is, Sir, I had presumed on Dr. Smith's sending you all necessary Information untill very lately, when ye Dr. was in Town, I found that ye many Journeys in which he has been engaged, had delayed that Matter longer than he could have wished. I then furnished him with ye Sheets of ye P. B. so far as ye Press had gone. Since I recd your Letter, I find they have gone on to Connt. They are now followed by ye Sheets which contain ye Psalter; ye rest shall be sent as soon as printed & further enclose a few of our Journal.

I am happy to find Sir, from your obliging Letter that I had taken in a stricter Sense than you intended, what you had said of Lay-Representatives. As to ye Mode of trying Clergymen, I apprehend ye Convention have not yet taken any Steps in adjusting it. If I am rightly instructed in what wd be proper on such a Subject, ye Mode may vary according to local Circumstances; & altho there may be nothing incongruous for Laymen to have some Part in that Matter, yet none ought to take away ye eccl Character but that higher Order of ye Clergy who convey it; & this I suppose is ye Reason that ye 122 Can of ye Church of England requires that after ye Trial of an Eccl Person (whether by a Cln or a layman) now ye Bp. shall pronounce a Sentence of Depos.

I hope Sir, that any Reports you think unfavourable to ye late Convn, will appear on Inquiry as Exaggerated. They have erred for want of sufft Information, but I am confident it was not their Design to depart from Episcop. Principles & that they wished to maintain what appears to be such from ye System of ye Chh of England, only accomodating them to local Circumstances in such Matters as Principle.

I am, Rt Revd Father in God, with great Respect

W. W.

*To Canterbury, Archbp. of*

Most Revd Father in God,

*PHILADA, Ap. 28. 1787*

I embrace the first Opportunity of acknowledging, from on this Side of the Atlantic, my many Obligations to your Grace; as well for ye most condescending personal Attentions, as for ye Dispatch given to ye important Business of my late Voyage.

We landed in New York on ye 8th Instt, after a Passage of seven Weeks from Falmouth.



I have been recd, my Lord in my native City with all ye Esteem & Affection which could be expected from the Respectability of my present Station, in Addition to ye Force of old Connections & Attachments. The Episcopalians are happy in finding their Church at last supplied with ye higher Order of her Ministry; & ye most respectable Characters of all Denominations rejoice with her in ye Event: so that I have every Reason to hope that your Graces good Offices by ye Blessing of Almy God will be ye Means of increasing our Church in this ye new World.

On my Journey to Philadelphia, I spent a few Hours with Dr. Chandler, to whom I communicated your Grace's written Message. I am sorry to say that there seems no Room to hope for ye Recovery of this most respectable Clergyman of our Church.

There has not been Time, my Lord, for Letters from ye Revd Dr. Griffith since his knowing our Return. But I am told he fully expects to find Matters in such a Train at ye ensuing Convention in Virginia, as to enable him to present himself before your Grace in England.

I take ye Liberty, my Lord, to present my most respectful Compts to Mrs. Moore, with my grateful Acknowledgements of her Politeness & Attention.

With fervent Wishes & Prayers for your Grace's Health & Happiness, I have ye Honor to subscribe myself, Your Graces most obedient & obliged humble Servant

William White

His Grace, The Archbishop of Canterbury.

*To Wallace, Joshua<sup>4</sup>*

*Clerical Discipline.*

Dear Sir,

*Sep 28. 1791*

The following are ye two Regulations of your Convention, which I mentioned to you as relative to ye Mode of inquiring into clerical offences:

7th. That ye President or in his Absence, ye Sr Prest.<sup>5</sup> may, any special Occasion requiring it, with ye Approbation of ye Vestries of two Congregations, call an occasional Meeting of ye Convention, by circular Letters addressed to ye different Congregations & by an Advert. in each of ye N. Jersey Newspapers, giving at least 4 Weeks Notice & 6 Weeks if convenient.

16. That in all Transgressions of ye foregoing Rules, or any of them, ye Trial shall be by ye Convention of this Church; & in Cases of Trial for Offences by a Clergyman, if there shall not be a Bp. duly settled in this State, that a Bp. of one of ye nearest States shall be requested to attend &

<sup>4</sup>Believed to be a layman of Burlington, N. J.

<sup>5</sup>Senior Presbyter.

preside in this Convention & in all Things be considered as a Member thereof.

I remain, your very hble Servt  
Wm. White

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*To Wallace, Joshua<sup>6</sup>*

Dear Sir.

PHILADA, *Ap. 17. 1795*

My not answering your Letter immediately was to wait for a Conference with Mr. Duche. And since that Time, I have been ye more easy on ye Supposition that you would not write, before ye sailing of ye Spring Ships.

I find that Mr. Duche is not disposed to repeat an Application, to which no Answer has been given. In regard to myself, having never in any Way, had any Connection with ye Society, ye greatest Liberty I can with Propriety take, is to undersign ye Request of ye Vestry, with ye Declaration that I believe ye proposed Disposition of ye Lot, would be an useful one. I enclose ye Vestrys Address to ye Society; & if you shd think of it any Use, altho indeed I doubt it, I will at any Time subjoin what I have offered.

With my best Compts to Mrs. Wallace, I remain, Yours affectionately

Wm. White

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*To Wallace, Joshua*

*On the use of the Burial Office*

Dear Sir,

PHILADA *July 24. 1800*

I have been prevented from answering yours of the 16th Instant by the Expectation of an Occasion which I thought, would have called my Brethren together; when I might have laid the Matter before them. But being disappointed in this, I shall give you such Sentiments as arise in my Mind.

Our Service was originally constructed with a View to the being read over those only who died in the Communion of the Church. If we so far depart from the original Design as to say it over others, I do not see that it is going further from the Strictness of ecclesiastical Principles, to know nothing of such Burials in a religious Way & to let them be conducted by Preachers of other Denominations. On a prudential Ground however, there are other Considerations which occur. In some places an indiscriminate Use of Property has been followed by Claims of a common right. Besides this, while there are some Ministers of other Denominations, from whose good Sense we must presume, that they would deliver nothing but what is proper, there are Preachers who might utter such Absurdities as no discreet Man or Body of Men would chuse to find a place for, however far from wishing to

<sup>6</sup>See letter dated Sept. 28, 1791.

disturb such Persons in the Exercise of their Right to speak what they please elsewhere.

You will perceive that these prudential Considerations must be affected by local Circumstances, of which I cannot judge. And as to the Sentiment first expressed, I request you to consider it as given with Diffidence on a questionable Point.

I remain, Dear Sir, affy & respectfully yours  
Wm. White

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*To Wallace, Joshua*

Dear Sir,

PHILADA June 2. 1801

I received your Letter of yesterday, but was prevented by a particular Circumstance from answering it by this Days Post; for which I should be very sorry, did I not presume that Tomorrows will be in Time.

Mr. Beazelys' Letter to me was dated ye —— of last March. He had however informed me above two Years ago of his Intention of taking Orders in our Church. I have so good an Opinion of this young Gentleman & have received such favourable Reports of his Talents, that I am disposed to do any thing to forward his Views, consistently with ye Canons of our Church & the general Principles of Propriety.

I shall be obliged to you, Sir, as soon as may be convenient after your Return, to send me a Statement of ye Funds in your Hands belonging to ye Corporation for the Relief of Clergymens Widows & Children — The Reason of this request, is to enable a Commee of which I am a member, to make a Proposition of Division, which may either be accepted in ye other States or yield to some other Plan to be proposed by them.

I remain, your affte humble Servt  
Wm. White

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*To Wallace, Joshua*

Dear Sir,

PHILADA, Mch 5. 1803

I this Day recd your Letter enclosing your Account; & I now hasten to have an Error corrected, under which I seem to have lain.

In the Papers which I made out for our Brethren in N. York, I represent Mr. Fraser as a Contributor of 8 Dollars, pr Annum; that being ye Sum mentioned as paid in all ye Accounts of Treasurers with which I have been furnished. From your Payments it would appear, that his Contribution must have been double that Sum. I am aware that there is a Rule permitting a Contributor to change his Class, with the Approbation of ye Corporation. If such a Step has been

\*The Rev. Frederick Beasley, Deacon, St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, N. J.

taken, Information on the Subject will be desirable to me & absolutely necessary to Mr. Wilcocks.

The same Gentleman should be furnished with Ye Documents proving Mrs. Frasers Right to draw her Childrens Shares as well as her own.

I remain, yours affy

Wm. White

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*To Madison, Rt. Rev. James*

*June 6, 1811*

Rt Revd & dear Sir

Your Favor of May 17 was forwarded to me to New-Haven, during ye Session of ye Genl Convention. You will have found from ye public Print, that ye Consecration of ye 2 newly elected Bps.\* has been performed in New-York. It was distressing to see my old Friend Bp. Provoost appearing in his debilitated State. For in addition to ye Effects of a paralytic Stroke, with which he was visited nearly 2 Years ago, he was not entirely recovered from a recent Attack of ye Jaundice. However, he has recd no Injury from ye Occasion.

It is unnecessary to inform you of ye Proceedings of ye Convention. They are not very interesting, & will be forwarded to you shortly.

The Situation of ye Church in Virginia is a Subject of great Grief, in every District of our Communion. It is understood, that you have in vain endeavoured to gather a Convention for several Years successfully. Will you permit a Brother Bp. to suggest a Remedy of ye Evil; under a proper Sense of his wanting your Knowledge of local Circumstances & with ye more Diffidence on that Account. Your Incorporation required 40 to make a Quorum. And altho ye Act has been repealed, I suppose you adhere to ye Number. Would it not be best to consider ye Constitution as defunct & to form anew a Convention consisting of those Clergymen & Deputies of Congregations however far, who have Zeal enough to step forward to keep ye Church from sinking. I am ye more free to suggest this, as I believe it to be ye very Measure which ye General Convention would set on foot, if there were no Bp. in Virginia. And in this they would be doing no more than what is done by any other religious Society, which, existing in some of ye States thinks it proper to extend their Con—— into any other State, agreeably to ye religious Liberty possessed by all. Perhaps I am mistaken in my assumed Facts; and if not, perhaps a better Expedient may be devised. But I throw myself on your Candor for a favorable Interpretation of ye Freedom taken.

I thank you for your Promise of Compliance with ye Request of my last; & am Rt Revd & dear Sir, your aff. Brother  
W. W.

\*Griswold and Hobart.



*To Rt. Rev'd Ab. Jarvis DD.*<sup>8</sup>

Rt. Rev'd. & Dear Sir :

PH. Nov. 30. 1811.

About 10 days ago, I addressed a Letter to the Rev'd C. Jones,<sup>9</sup> in Answer to one received from him, inviting my Opinion of the Bearing of a certain Measure of the House of Bps. in 1801, on a Question now depending between our Brothers Bp. Provoost & Bp. Moore. This Morning I rec'd a Letter from Bp. Hobart, requesting a Copy of my said Letter. And as he expresses it to be the Opinion of several of the Clergy, that there w'd be a Use, in our comparing of our Sentiments, I shall request that another Copy—or so much as will exhibit my Opinion may be taken to N. Y. & sent to you. It is hardly necessary to add that it would gratify me to have your Opinion in Return.

I beg leave to introduce another Subject. You will probably remember, in Regard to the Duty laid on me by the Convention, respecting the Lands in Vermont,<sup>10</sup> my explicitly declaring to the Gentleman who brought the Communication—I think it was Mr. Baldwin—that I sh'd expect to be furnished with all the needful Papers, shewing the Ground of the Request, & any precedent Steps taken in the Business. Not receiving any such Papers, I addressed a letter to Bp. Griswold, requesting his Agency in causing me to be provided as above. My Letter was sent by Post early in the Autumn, but I have not rec'd an Answer : Which may have been owing to a Progress thro his extensive Diocese: For I have lately heard that he has been so employed. Now, my dear Sir, what I have to request of you is that living so near both to Bp. Griswold and to Mr. Baldwin, you w'd propose to one or both of them, to put this Matter in a proper Train. In my present State of Ignorance of the Subjects, I really know not what to write.

I desire my respectful Comp'ts to Mrs. Jarvis, & remain

Yours Aff'te Brother

Wm. White.

*To Provoost, Rt. Rev. Samuel*<sup>11</sup>

Rt Revd & dear Sir

PHA. Oct. 21, 1812.

Having received your Letter of ye 8th Inst, enclosing a Copy of your Letter to ye Convention of New York; I intended to have written to you by ye Return of Bp. Jarvis,

<sup>8</sup>Second Bishop of Connecticut.

<sup>9</sup>Rev. Cave Jones, Assistant Minister of Trinity Parish, New York City.

<sup>10</sup>See "Historical Magazine", Vol. V, pp. 126-127, 137.

<sup>11</sup>This letter refers to the difficulties which arose in the diocese of New York when Bishop Samuel Provoost declared his intention to resume the jurisdiction he had voluntarily surrendered in 1801. In that year Benjamin Moore was consecrated bishop but on the express condition that he was to be regarded "as as-

who was at my House. But on ye Day of his Departure (ye 19 Inst) some pressing Circumstances interfered to prevent it.

The Contents of your Letter to ye Convention were communicated to Bps. Jarvis & Dehon. They presumed with me, that it was in ye Line of brotherly Communication & that no official Step on our Part was expected, or could be efficient.

I wish very much, that ye Opinion expressed by ye Bps at Trenton had been acted on. But what should be ye Result of ye contrary Events I am not prepared to say.

I remain, Rt Revd & dear Sir, your aff. Brother  
W. W.<sup>12</sup>

Sept. 26. 1813

To ..... Rev. ....

Revd & dear Sir

I recd your Letter of Tuesday & have an Opportunity by Judge Wallace of freely giving you my Opinion on ye two Points, prominent in ye Inquiries addressed to you by The Layman. They are Extempore Prayer before & after Sermon & Meetings in private Houses for Worship.

In Regard to ye former, I remember it to have been understood in framing ye 34th Canon, that it was considered as intended against mixing Prayers of ye Minister with ye prescribed Service. Further, as notwithstanding ye more energetic Authority in ye established Church of England, there has been allowed therein ye Practice of praying before & after Sermon; some Ministers doing this very briefly in a Collect & others more at length according to their own Conceptions; it seems to me not wise to endeavour to restrain ye Matter among us, by Ecclesiastical Authority. But when a Minister, because not prohibited, instead of a short Prayer, confined to ye Impressings of religious Instruction on ye Minds of ye People, branches out in Petitions for sundry Matters before solicited from ye Desk, he could hardly give a more unequivocal Proof that he has conformed to ye latter in meer Compliance with ecclesiastical Law; & that he is now indulging himself in a Way of Praying more agreeable to his Taste. I have known this done sometimes from what manifestly appeared a Disrelish for our Church Service; & at other times from ye coxcomical Variety of Self-exhibition. In either Case, I believe that all judicious Members of our Church entertain a Dislike of ye Practice.

As to ye other Point, however moderately expressed, by

sistant or co-adjutor bishop" during Provoost's lifetime. The situation, however, was complicated by the fact that Moore's certificate of consecration described him as "Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York". The diocese of New York so regarded him; elected John Henry Hobart as his assistant and repudiated Provoost's claim of renewed jurisdiction.

<sup>12</sup>See also letter dated Nov. 30, 1811, addressed to Bishop Jarvis.

ye Layman, it is evidently intended to go to ye Question of these religious Societies, which in all ye essential Properties of social Worship, differ Nothing from an organized Assembly under ye Name of a Church. My Maxim has always been, in Relation to such Societies, neither to encourage nor to do any Thing to counteract them. I do not encourage them because so far as my Knowledge of them extends, they have been conducted on such Plan in ye best of ye Cases, as is alien from what is esteemed a rational Worship, by our Church; & in most of ye Cases, have been a meer Exercise of what are called Gifts: several Persons praying in Succession, generally for ye same Things; which I consider as worthy of Abhorrence.

If it be asked, why I would not exert myself to counteract such Meetings, my principal Reason is that of ye many which I have known from early Life, to exist in this City, not one has lasted long. Which I take to have been principally owing to this, that Persons of real Piety & Virtue, after a while discover that they have become associated with Persons so very faulty in important Points, that ye Disrepute of their Characters lights on all ye Members of a Body, formed on ye Principle of ye Profession of an extraordinary Degree of Piety. I will also remark, that ye Advocates of such Societies are scarcely ever known to have a Relish for such Prayer-Meetings as are sanctioned by ye Laws & ye immemorial Usage of our Church. The Reason is evident, in ye different Maxims by which ye two Species of Worship are conducted.

I remain, your affte Brother

Wm. White

*To Wallace, Joshua*

PHA. Decr. 30. 1813

Dear Sir

I recd this Day yours of ye 29th, & have ye Satisfaction of informing you, that ye Copy of ye N. T. adopted, & of which I believe an Impression is by this Time begun, is that issued by ye British & Foreign B. Society. I believe it is commonly called Martin's Translation; but do not know whether you can be furnished with a Copy. I called on ye Secretary to inquire, but he was not at Home. If I rightly remember, ye Bp. of N. Orleans returned it with a Declaration that he did not object to it.

When ye Question as to ye Copy was first introduced into our Society, I mentioned some Objections to ye Douay Translation, which I expected to find applying to ye R. C. French Translation. My principal Objection was to ye Reducing of Heb. 11.21. Which refers to ye Worship to ye Top of ye Staff. But great was my Surprise, on examining ye French R. C. Version, to find it even further than our own from Image Worship. For it has—*qu'il adora le Seigneur s'appargant sui le haut de son Baton*. But ye same Translation gives too much

Circumstance to another R. C. Doctrine, by generally translating "to repent" fair le Penitence; ye English of which certainly gives a different Idea from that expressed by ye Greek. I suppose they avail themselves of ye latin Phrase Penitenti a —. The same Translation is obliged to abandon its Phrase in some Places; for Instance Mattw 21, 27 & 32—& 1 Cor. 11.27, ye R. C. Translations for "and" use "or". But I find that ye latter is ye most agreeable to ye Greek; altho Dr. Whitby makes a Defence of our common Translation, which is apparently of Weight. At any Rate, ye Criticism does not serve ye R. C. Cause; as appears from Verses 28 & 29.

Your Interpretation of Luke 1. 28 is certainly correct & ye other is a Mistranslation. And yet I do not see, how it justifies Adoration of ye Virgin, who may have been full of Grace & yet not an Object of Worship. The Douay Translation adopts ye Error.

With my Compts to Mrs. Wallace & ye young Ladies, I remain Your affte humble Servt

Wm. White

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PHA. Decr. 30. 1813

*To Echard, Mrs. Susan R.*

Dear Madam,

I have received your kind Letter of ye 21st Inst; for ye Contents of which I request you to accept of my Thanks, especially for ye interesting Narrative given in it of ye Character of a Mr. Taylor.

On ye Subject of ye Legacy of Mr. Gerard,\* I do not permit myself either to speak or to write, except as to ye excluding of Religion in every Shape, from ye Instruction to be given to his Orphans. So decided am I on this Point, that I have thought myself bound in Duty to declare it, under ye Character of "A Citizen of Philadelphia" in a Piece published in ye "National Gazette" on ye 18th Instt. In ye Opinion that this was ye Design of Mr. Gerard I am confirmed, by finding it consented in on ye part of those who consider ye Will as permitting any Thing which is not prohibited by it.

If ye Trust should be accepted, which seems certain, I must of course wish it to be under such Constructions as that alluded to. They will be in Violation of every Part of ye Will, except that ye Exclusion of Clergy from his Walls, & even this will be in a great Measure neutralized, it being suggested that ye Pupils may be permitted to attend Places of Worship exterior to ye Building.

I thank you dear Madam, for your kind Expressions respecting myself & Family. Of this I shall assure you in Person, when I shall have heard, as you give me Reason to expect, of your being in this City.

\*Cf, p. 178.



In ye mean Time, I am, with much Respect, Your very  
humble Servant

Wm. White

MS. NARRATIVE OF HIS ANCESTORS.

This is ye Portrait of my Grandmother—Elizabeth White. Her Maiden Name was Leigh. There was a Family of that Name, in or near a small Town in England called Leighton—I believe it is in or near Buckinghamshire. My Father, who was parted from her at 16 Years of Age, retained ye Impression of her being a Woman of extraordinary Merit. Left in straitened Circumstances at ye Death of a dissipated Husband, she betook herself to ye Labours of Millenery & educated her Daughters in ye same; ye profits of which principally by ye Mean of ye Purchase of Annuities & with Jointures from ye Estates of their Husbands, supported them in a genteel Competency in Twickenham. In Consequence partly of ye Will of my Aunts & partly of that of my Father, I inherited what was at ye Disposal of ye former, after ye Payment of sundry Legacies. What I received amounted to about £3000 Sterling. Altho my Father was sent to ye boarding School of a Clergyman in St. Albans, 18 Miles from London; yet being at Home in Times of Holiday, he recollected that his Family must have been friendly to ye Strea—— & their Claim. Accordingly, he cautioned me on that Subject, in Relation to my Aunts. When Familiarity had banished Reserve, we discussed ye Matter freely. They acknowledged that they had been educated in that Sentiment, but had long considered —— Cause as desperate; & gave it up ye more readily, in their Respect for ye Character of ye present King.

July 22. 1819

Wm. White

MS. NARRATIVE OF HIS ANCESTORS.

presents this Wm. White as very much a Man of Pleasure, so as to have dissipated a considerable Property before he was 30 Years of Age & left his Family in straitened Circumstances. His Children were

William, brought up a Silk-Mercer & said to have been a Man of Pleasure like his Father, but reclaimed by a long Sickness. He died a Bachelor at about ye Age of 40.

Elizabeth, who never married & died at about ye Age of 80.

Sarah, who married a Mr. Midwinter, of good Establishment; from which after his Decease, she had a handsome Jointure. She died 9 Months before my going to England in 1770.

Charlotte, who married a Mr. Weeks, who possessed Prop-

erty, from which she had a Jointure after his Decease. She died soon after her Sister Elizabeth.

Thomas, my honoured Father.

John, who died young, in ye East Indies.

The aforesaid 3 Ladies resided for many Years before their respective Decease, with a genteel Competency, in Twickenham, 10 Miles from Westminster, ye greater Part of their Income being from Jointures & from Annuities purchased. When I arrived in England in November 1770, I was received by my two surviving Aunts, who had never seen their Brother since he left them at ye Age of 16 & was treated by them like a Son. I cherish a tender Recollection of their Memory. The eldest of them was one of ye finest Women I ever knew. With a strong Understanding, sincere Piety & great Dignity of Manners, she possessed ye Chearfulness of Youth at above ye Age of 70.

July 22. 1819

Wm. White

*To Adams, Hon. John*

Dear Sir,

(February 12, 1820)

I recd your Letter of ye 13 of Decr; which was not delivered until 3 Days ago; ye revd Bearer of it having made no Stay in this City on his passing thro it to Washington. Mr. Nortons literary Character & Attainments cannot but render him an acceptable Acquaintance in Proportion to Opportunities of Intercourse with him. The Information recd from him of your Health is an Addition to what has been learned on other Occasions which have occurred to me, of Inquiry on that Subject.

I have lately sent to ye Press a work, entitled "Memoirs of ye Prot. Ep. Ch." My Motive, is ye perpetuating of ye Remembrance of some Facts which have had an Influence on Measures & serve to explain them. One of ye Facts is ye benevolent Agency of Mr. Adams, in Aid of our Endeavours for ye obtaining of ye episcopal Succession. For this Reason, ye Completion of ye Volume, which will be thin 8vo, I shall consider it a Duty to request his Acceptance of a Copy.

In ye mean Time, I am with much Respect, your very hble Servt

Wm. White

(February 17, 1820)

*To Hobart, Rt. Rev. John H.*

Rt Revd & dear Sir

The contemplated Return of Dr. Turner suggests ye Thought of reviewing our Correspondence & I begin with acknowledging your 2 Letters of Decr 5 & 12; for you are aware

that I consider this as an indispensable Rule of epistolary Intercourse.

I am pleased that you approve of my Communication in Reference to Bp. Seabury. It is probable that you have printed what was sent, altho it has not reached me. In Truth, your Journal is always slow in coming. Our last is that of November.

Some Notice is requisite of what you have written concerning ye Theological School. It appears to me that altho Bp. Brownell & Mr. Kemper\* (with Liberty as I am ———) deny ye Intention of keeping back ye Fact of ye Countenance given to Diocesan Schools, & ye latter Gentleman declares that it was well known when he solicited Subscriptions; yet it is to be lamented that there has been Appearance to ye contrary in ye precipitate Publication in N. York & in ye first Address of ye Trustees assembled in N. Haven. I do not recollect that what ——— Schools was after ye Acting on what came from ye other House; & if this was so, it makes no Difference in my Opinion, because ye said Modification was ye Result of ye passing of ye other Part, on ye Ground of its being so understood & only designed for Explicitness. Had ye contrary been declared, I think ye Measure of ye other House would not have passed. Mr. Boyds Notice of ye Subject, I agree with you, to be incorrect & so I intimated to him as soon as ye Magazine appeared.

You seem to think that if my Preference of diocesan Schools & my Objections to ye other had been urged at ye last Convention they would have had Weight. What Reason have I suppose this? My Sentiments were delivered at ye Convention of 1817, backed with ye Sanction of our State Convention. They were again presented in my Memoirs, which had been read by many of ye Conv of last May. It has always been my Practice not to be repeated by obtruding my peculiar Views of a Subject on any Body of men when their decided Sense has been declared against me—ye Matter not involving Sacrifice of Principles. On this Point, you seem to be apprehensive of Error ——— Theological School in N. Haven. But I cannot persuade myself, that our Brethren of Connecticut, whom I have been accustomed to consider as Ultras on some Points of our religious System will veer into ye opposite Entrance in Conformity to what you seem to suppose expected by some Gentleman in N. York. Being possessed of these Sentiments, I could not join Mr. M. in his opposition to ye General Seminary; altho under its Adoption contrary to my own Opinion, I wish it had been so constructed as to give to every Portion of ye Union a Weight proportioned to ye Contributions within its Bounds. Still in this State, we have no diocesan Seminary to put in Competition with it. The Time may come & there is a Foundation laid for ye Event altho

*\*Rev. Jackson Kemper*

probably not to happen in my Day, when there shall be a Seminary in this Diocese, to give either preparatory or a complete Education, as Circumstances may direct.

I am surprized at finding in your Letter ye Suggestion that ye Genl Seminary rests on ye Recommendation of ye Convention. To my Understanding, it appears an authoritative Act—as much so as any other of the Transactions of ye Convention.

It may be proper to inform—what has been done in this City, to forward ye Design of ye General Seminary. Those of the Trustees here resident have held Meetings with sundry Members of ye Church & engaged them in ye Design. In Consequence of ye 3d Resolve of ye Convn on ye Subject, I thought that especially as Presg Bp. I could not consistently with Respect for ye said Act, decline taking ye Chair at their Meetings; but they have not as yet made Collections.

I have bothered with ye reading of a long Letter & hasten to write myself

Your affte Brother

W. W.

Feb'y 17

P. S.

After finishing ye above, there came to me — Inst. Evg., perhaps sent by you, a paper of N. Y. with ye Arrangement of your theological Professorships. When I consider ye Difficulty of creating Funds for so many ye Necessity (in this Country) of making them Personal Reports in order to ——— being ——— & ye Hazard to said Prperty from public Events, I shd prefer in this Diocese, ye establishing of a single Professorship; taking for granted that a thoroughly read Divine must have a competent Knowledge of any Branch & not including Lectures in my Scheme, except perhaps a few in ye Space of a Year, for ye better Display of ye Talents of a Pr., while general Superintend— daily Examinations shd be relied on for ye Improvement of ye Pupils. In some of ye English Universities there are (I believe) only 2 Professors; of whom each has his different Establishments, & his Pupils wholly to himself. W. W.

*To Brownell, Rt. Rev. Thomas*  
Rt Revd & dear Sir,

*Aug. 28. 1822*

I have just now recd your Letter of ye 25th Inst. It is not without much Pain, that I inform you of my having put it out of my Power to comply with your Request, as will find from what I shall transcribe below from a Letter of mine to Bp. Chase of ye 11 Instt. You will probably think me over-scrupulous on ye Point in Question, but I rely on your ascribing of it to involuntary Error.

I recd a Letter from Bp. Chase dated July 28, announcing



his Design of embarking at N. York abt ye 1 of Octr for England, in Order to collect for ye Diocese of Ohio; & requesting of me a Letter approbatory of ye Measure; & a few Days after, there came another Letter dated July 29, requesting that Prayers might be put up for his Success. I found myself obliged by my Sense of ye Subject, to answer him in ye Terms which you will find transcribed.

I request your favourable Construction on ye Occasion; & am Rt Revd & dear Sir, your aff Brother

W. W.

After stating ye Substance of Bp. Cs Request, I proceed as follows

Then follows ye Copy.

P. S. I am much gratified by your Prospects relative to your intended College. It would afford me Pleasure to give to Mr. W. Letters of personal Introduction, if there were any whom I could properly address. I know not a Correspondent remaining in England, neither as far as I know is there any one with whom I had contracted an Acquaintance, except ——— a Clergyman ——— aged ——— at a close Distance from London.

*To Wilson, Rev. Bird*

*Octr 25. 1822*

Revd & dear Sir,

I comply with ye Wish you expressed to me, of ye delivering to you, in this Form, what I lately said to you in Relation to ye Mention made of my Friend your deceased Father, in "The Life of General Greene" lately published.

According to my Recollection of ye Passage of ye Book, it states that your Father was one of a Party of influential Gentlemen, who at a certain Period of ye revolutionary War, contemplated ye removing of ye Commander in Chief, or at least, ye dividing of ye Command.

It is probable, that I was ye first Person in America, with whom your Father formed any considerable Degree of Acquaintance. It began in ye Year 1766 & continued throughout his Life, our Intercourse being also promoted by his subsequent Marriage to your Mother; between whom & my Mrs. White there had been a still earlier Friendship.

Not knowing from what Materials ye Biographer drew his Communication, I ought not to admit ye Supposition that he intended to defame or to misrepresent: but I must be allowed to believe, that ye alleged Fact rests on Grounds not tenable. For, that such should have been ye State of your Father's Mind & that in our frequent & familiar Intercourse, nothing tending to ye Point should have escaped from him; that no Intimation of ye Sort should have come to me from our common Friends; that there should have been in this sin-

gle Matter, a Disposition alien from ye general Bent of his Character & Opinions, & that he should afterwards have obtained Proofs of ye Confidence of ye great Man, whom he had designed to lessen in ye public Esteem; are what I think as improbable, as almost any Thing beyond ye Limits of my personal Knowledge.

I remain yours affectionately,

Wm. White

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*To Brownell, Rt. Rev. Thomas C.*  
Rt Revd & dear Sir

*Jany 17. 1824*

I have this Day received your Letter of ye 14 Inst requesting ye Expression of my Opinion, that ye College of Connecticut is not established in Opposition to ye General Theological Seminary. It has never occurred to me that there can be any contrariety or that there was ever intended any, between these 2 Establishments.

The founding of ye College, appears to me ye Consumation of a Design entertained so long ago as at ye Time of ye Genl Convention of 1816; on ye Journal of which there is ye explicit Approbation passed by ye two Houses, on a then contemplated Application to ye Legislature for an Enlargement of ye corporate Privileges of ye Academy at Cheshire. There seems no Difference between ye two Objects, except ye Changes of Suit. This warrants me to believe that you have ye good Wishes of our Church throughout ye Union.

I cannot conclude without an Expression of my Sorrow for a course begun, which had it been entered on 20 Years ago, would have crushed our Church in its incipient State; & which tends to visit a Prejudice, even now lying heavy on us in some Parts of our Country, affecting ye Members of our Church in their civil Interests.

I remain &c

W. W.

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*To Moore, Rt. Rev. Richard C.\**

*PHA, Oct 31. 1825*

Rt Revd & dear Sir

I have received your Letter of ye 27th Inst. On ye Subject of your Inquiry, it appears to me that ye Case mentioned by you comes under ye Canon referred to. In framing it, ye Motive in my Mind, & I believe, in ye Minds of others, was ye Difficulty of obtaining Witnesses when ye Issue was to be called Degradation, & to be followed by ye publishing in ye Churches. The Object was to get rid of Clergymen known to be guilty of Irregularities, which it might be found difficult to

\*Bishop of Virginia.

prove. I have no doubt that ye Canon of 1817 applies to ye Case of Mr. W.

I will avail myself of this Occasion of writing to you, to state some Matters which I have lately made Subject of Conversation in our Standing Commee & which have a Bearing on ye Relations in which we stand in our Dioceses.

You know that with your Approbation, I ordained Mr. De-Pui, after his having been entered as a Candidate with both of us. Altho there was no Suspicion of an improper Motive in this young Man, yet it will occur to you, that there are weighty Objections to this Practice of Entry in 2 Dioceses. It may be prevented in Future, by our understanding of one another on ye Subject. For my Part, I will never hereafter record as a Candidate, any one who has been entered as such in another Diocese unless in ye Case of a Transfer.

Two other young Men have been transferred from your Diocese to this, & have been ordained. As Matters now stand, I do not see how either of us can refuse such a Transfer, ye Character of ye Party being fair, & yet I think there should be a reasonable Cause assigned, to be judged of by both of ye Bps. But perhaps we must wait until ye next Genl Convention for a Provision to that Effect.

There is another Matter, which has become of serious Concern with me. Some young men, Candidates in this Diocese, are Students in ye Theological Seminary in Alexandria. Their Right to be in that Character is indubitable; but it has lately been represented to me, that ye Students of ye Seminary are in ye Habit of officiating in Prayer & preaching, which to my Apprehension, is contrary to ye 23d Article of our Church. The Prohibition of it may also, I think be inferred from ye 19th Canon; ye Matters there mentioned being not so great a Departure from ye Institutions as is stated to be ye Practice now referred to. I have informed our Stg Commee, that I shall make no Inquisition in regard to ye different Candidates but, that on its being reported to me of any young Man, that he has so occupied himself, I am bound in Conscience not to ordain him. Mr. Allen on my Suggestion has written to Dr. Wilmer on ye Subject, but has not yet received an Answer.

It gave me Pleasure to be told that your western Journey had contributed to ye Restoration of your Health. Information of this Description will always be acceptable to your aff Brother

W. W.

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*To Marks, Rev. S.*  
 Revd & dear sir

PHA. Feb. 1. 1826

I have recd your Letter of Jan'y 13, & not knowing any Opportunity of answering it except by Post, avail myself of this Mode of Conveyance, in Consequence of an apparent Expectation on your Part of an early Answer.

Were I officiating in a Desk affording sufficient Room & a Minister of another Denomination were near me, I should have no Hesitation to ask his taking of a Seat with me: unless it were previously understood as passing an Opinion concerning his Orders, for then I would act otherwise.

We ought, I think, to maintain ye Ground taken by our Reformers. They found no other Form of Ordination than ye Episcopal, recognized in Scripture & ye early Authors, as is expressed in ye Preface to ye Ordinal. Accordingly, they admitted no other within their Bounds; but abstained from faulting ye Ordination of any other Prot. Church. In proportion as we tread in ye same Steps, we shall avoid much Embarrassment among ourselves, much Litigations with some Communions of our Fellow Christians.

With these Sentiments I have, thro my Life, held it an indispensable Duty to cultivate Courtesy with those respectable Ministers of other Denominations with whom I have been acquainted; & can conscientiously declare that I have in whatever of Good has been performed by them & known to me. The same Line of Conduct I recommend to you.

I remain respectfully, your aff. Brother

W. W.

*To White, Thomas,*<sup>13</sup>

*Account of a Visitation.*

Dear Thomas,

WILKESBARRE, *Friday, Oct. 6. 1826*

We returned to this Borough last Evening. By my Letter from Montrose, you will have learned that I was about to preach at that Place. This I did, Mr. Kemper<sup>14</sup> reading Prayers. After Church, great was our Surprise on finding ourselves approached by our Friend Bp. Hobart. On his Way from a different Part of his Diocese, he had stopt at ye Tavern soon after our leaving it. Hearing of what was going on in ye Courthouse, he repaired thither. We had about an Hours Conversation with him, in ye House of Mr. Wm. Drinker, where Mr. Kemper and I lodged that Evening. Bp. H. left Montrose at 2 of Clock next Morning.

On Wednesday we got back to Sprinville, where in ye Forenoon, I preached, confirmed & administered ye Communion, Mr. Kemper reading Prayers; who also read & preached in ye Evening. The next Day (yesterday) was spent in Return to this Borough.

I was disappointed on not finding a Letter from you; but hope to receive one this Evening. What I now write, will not go on until Sunday Morning; & I shall keep it open for any Thing which I may have to add.

Love to all, from your Affte Father

Wm. White

<sup>13</sup>Son of the Bishop.

<sup>14</sup>Rev. Jackson Kemper.



Octr. 7. I received yesterday Evening your Letter of ye 3d Inst. I agree with you, that ye Personalities of Hooker are too plain not to be understood.

We have spent this Morning in a Visit to a Coal Bed about 4 Miles below this Borough, our Course being over an admirable Road, thro a Part of this beautiful Valley.

This letter will be put into ye Post-Office this Evening to go by Tomorrows Mail. Unless we should be disappointed in our present Expectation of a Carriage & unless ye Weather should prove extremely unfavourable, we shall set off for Easton on Monday Morning & if we should be still prospered, we shall be with you on Wednesday Evening.

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*To Allen, Rev. Thomas.*<sup>15</sup>

Revd Sir,

*July 8, 1828.*

There has been sent to a Clergyman of this Diocese, who has deposited with me, what is represented to be an Extract from a Letter written by you, to ye Vestry of a Congregation in Montgomery County Maryland, in which you have undertaken to assign as ye Motive & even ye only Motive of my refusing to furnish ye revd W. H. Rees,<sup>16</sup> with a demissory Letter in ye Terms of ye 31st Canon. The Motive imputed to me, is Mr. Rs having been in ye Opposition, in ye Election of ye Assistant Bishop. No such Reason was given or entertained by me.

My Refusal was declared to Mr. R to be owing to his Deviations from moral Obligations, in sundry Instances distinctly stated to him; on Account of which, I could not conscientiously subscribe ye required Form. The Reason substituted for this was ye less anticipated, as it was to ye last Degree improbable, that if actuated by it, I should have taken ye Step which retained Mr. R. in ye Diocese.

Of ye Points on which ye Refusal was grounded, there was a Record made by me at ye Time; & it is preserved as a Memorial of ye Motives which governed in ye Transaction, under ye Sense of Responsibility to God & to ye Church.

It is to be hoped, that in any future Correspondence or Conversation on ye Subject, you will do me ye Justice to report my Denial of what you have affirmed, & ye Ground on which I rest my Conduct to Mr. R.

I should consider myself as wanting in Candour, were I to close this Communication without declaring to you, that I consider what you have written as an Aspersion on my Character. You will not say, that you have ever heard, from my Mouth, any Thing on ye Subject in Question, but, how far Misinformation may in some Measure account for what it cannot justify, is more than I am prepared to conjecture.

Wm. White

<sup>15</sup>Thomas G. Allen, rector of Prince George's and St. Bartholomew's parishes, Montgomery County, Maryland.

<sup>16</sup>Mr. Rees was a Deacon in the diocese of Pennsylvania.

*To Wallace, Mr. & Mrs. John*

PHILADA, *Apl.* 23. 1829

Dear Sir & Dear Madam,

I duly received your Letter of ye 11th Inst, & should have acknowledged it sooner, had it not been that ye Delay was supposed by me to be excuseable in consequence of ye known Pressure of Duty resting on me during ye whole of ye Week, before & of ye Week following Easter Sunday.

For some Years past, I have endeavoured to prepare my Mind for ye Indifference in others & for ye Inisignificancy in myself which seem naturally attendant on a great Advance in Years. With a Disposition to submit to this as a Property of human Life, impressed on it by its all wise Ordainer, I derive ye greater Satisfaction from such Expressions and Esteem, as are contained in your very acceptable Communication.

Sincerely reciprocating your kind Regards, while I abstain from identifying ye beautiful Stream of ye Alleghenny, on which ye Kingdom of ye Redeemed has a Beginning & ye Prospect of Extension, with ye Waters of idolatrous Babylon, I am willing with you, as seems implied in your Letter, to consider your former Home as a spiritual Zion, to which you are desirous of being restored: an Event, to which I look forward with Hope & with Satisfaction.

I am especially gratified by ye Assurance of your Prayers, for what you are pleased to call a Life of Usefulness. For my Opportunities of this, however imperfectly they may have been improved, I can never be sufficiently thankful; & they ought to be a Motive with me, to ye Improvement of ye very little of Time there can be remaining.

I am, dear Sir & dear Madam, with great Respect & Affection, Your very humble Servant,

Wm. White

*To Bowen, Rt. Rev. Nathaniel\**

PHA, *Jany* 25. 1832

Rt Revd & dear Sir,

I received your Letter of ye 12th Instt, on ye Day of my Sons having written to you, under ye Expectation of sending his Letter with a Box of Books collected at your Desire & furnished by me. They are Copies of all my Publications, of which I have more than one of each. There seeming no Indications that our River will admit of sailing for some Days, it is probable that what I now write will accompany that of my Son.

The terms in which you express yourself concerning my Commentaries on ye Ordination Services, are very agreeable to me. I feel reluctant to ye applying to my Epl Brethren for ye defraying ye Expende of a Republication. Perhaps on a Consultation with some of ye Clergy near me, another Mode

\*Bishop of South Carolina.

may be adopted; & if so, you shall hear from me again on ye Subject.

We are here very uneasy concerning ye Diocese of Ohio.\*\* Bp. Onderdonk has persuaded me to publish in ye Prott Episcopal,\*\*\* ye Number which will appear in a few Days—a Defence of ye Act of ye House of Bps in 1801, relatively to Resignation. It was written during ye Controversy on ye Subject in 1812 in New York, & shewn to several, but not published. In ye preceding Number of ye P. Episcopalian, is a Production of mine, signed W. W., ascribing a popish Origin to ye Notion of a Severance between Jurisdiction & Order. The same Notion, in another Production & designed for ye next Number of ye said Periodical, is further discussed by a Detail of pertinent Facts from ye History of ye Council of Trent. These Things are mentioned on ye Supposition, that ye Pt Epn. is not unknown in Charlestown. The great Importance of a Matter wch is likely to be prominent in ye Discussions of our common Councils, will account to you for ye preceding Information; given from a State of Mind which would be gratified by ye Disclosure of any Sentiments which you may entertain on ye same Subject.

At present there seems to be but one or ye other of these two Courses to be taken; either for Bp. Chase to continue his Episcopacy, disengaging ye Diocese from ye unaccountable tie of its Duties to those of ye Presidency of a College, & if it be thought desirable, with ye Addition of an Assistant Bp.; or to bring ye Case under ye Head of exterior Necessity, produced by ye said Tie, & on that Ground, to suffer ye Choice of a diocesan Successor to proceed. The latter Part of ye Alternative is here included, because of its being currently said among us that Bp. Chases resigning of his episcopal Functions will not be permitted in Ohio.

It has been exceedingly gratifying to me to be informed of ye improved State of your Health & that it may progress to entire Restoration, is ye Wish & ye prayer of your affte Brother

W. W.

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*To Onderdonk, Rt. Rev. Benjamin T.*<sup>17</sup>

*Procedure in reception of Ministers of other denominations.*

Rt Revd & dear Sir,

*Feb. 20, 1832.*

I have recd your Letter of ye 18th Inst. & will freely communicate to you ye Views which have governed in this

\*\*The reference is to the fact that Bishop Philander Chase had abruptly resigned his episcopal jurisdiction in Ohio and the diocesan convention had elected Charles P. McIlvaine as his successor. The House of Bishops was unwilling to admit the right of a bishop to resign his jurisdiction.

\*\*\*The Protestant Episcopalian, a Low Church paper published in Philadelphia.

<sup>17</sup>Bishop of New York.

Diocese, on ye Subjects concerning which you have written.

In regard to a Minister from another Denomination, we have supposed all ye Requisites to be enacted, except what is expressly excepted.

Consequently, we have subjected him to Examinations, as in ye Case of any other Candidate.

We have also required ye Knowledge of him for one Year, certified by a Clergyman of ye Episcopal Church: which, you will perceive, may have existed without an Annunciation of a Severance from his former Communion.

We have thought that these Provisions are ye natural Results of ye Motives which gave Occasion to ye 5th Canon of 1820.

With a due Sense of ye Honour intended for me by ye Trustees of ye Theological Seminary, I find myself constrained from Attendance on ye next Commencement, by ye Considerations communicated to them on a former Occasion.

I remain, Rt. Revd & dear Sir,  
Your affte Brother,

W. W.

*To Milnor, Rev. James<sup>18</sup>*

*On the introduction of the Bible into Schools.*

Revd & dear Sir

*Sept. 14, 1832.*

I have before me a Letter from you & dated Novr 5, 1831. It was written in Behalf of a Committee of which you appear to be a Member & there was expected an Answer to it, at any Time before ye ensuing October. It did not come to hand, until many Months after its Date. To acknowledge ye Receipt of it & to attend to its Contents, is ye Design at present.

The Object of your Communication, supposed by me to be circular, is to obtain ye Opinions of different Gentlemen on ye Question of introducing ye Bible as a School Book, into any Institution for ye educating of Youth. There can be but one Answer, & that in ye Affirmative, from all ye Friends of Religion & of Morals, with ye Exception, that it be not with ye Violation of parental Duty, one Branch of which, is to provide for ye educating in what the Parent judges to be a Faith agreeable to ye Gospel. For this Reason, I think it ought to be an Object of ye Church of which I a Minister, to possess Seminaries, in which a Father, surrendering a Portion of his Responsibility for ye correct Faith of his Son, shall not put him in ye Way of being educated in erroneous Views of Religion. These, in ye Case supposed, altho proceeding from literary Instructors, come to ye Youth with ye additional Weight of parental Sanction. In ye Expressing of this

<sup>18</sup>Rector of St. George's Church, New York.



Sentiment it must be understood as predicated of Seminaries for Youth in their Minority. How far any Thing of ye kind may be applicable to Schools of a higher Grade, & designed for young Men who are soon to enter on professional Labours, is not now taken under Consideration.

It is not uncommon, under this Aspect of ye Subject, to meet ye occurring Difficulty, by Schemes of religious Instruction, limited to ye Points on which ye various Denominations of Christians are agreed. Having witnessed ye Violation of many Engagements to this Effect & not having been assured of any Instance of a faithful Adherence to them, I have no Reliance on any Pledge of that Description. Probably ye Question now proposed has a Reference to a projected Institution in ye City of New York. If there be contemplated an Amalgamation, above considered as having been always however unintentionally deceptive, it is an Undertaking of which I cannot signify my Approbation in this Particular. But how far it may be in ye Power & in ye Inclination of ye Conductors of ye intended Institution to subject ye biblical Instruction of ye Youth of ye Episcopal Church to an approved Teacher of ye same Faith with their Parents & of ye Church to which they belong is a Point, on which I have no Data for ye founding of an Opinion.

Perhaps your Committee may have contemplated a wider Range of Information than will be found in this Letter. Were I possessed of further Facts beyond what I presume to be already within their Knowledge, I should not hesitate to enlarge my Communication. But under existing Circumstances, I have thought it expedient to confine myself to ye prominent Point of their Demand.

I remain, revd & dear Sir, respectfully your affte Brother  
in ye Ministry

W. W.

(General Convention Archives—White MSS 3/88)

*To Bowman, Rev. Samuel*

PHA, Novr 8. 1832

Revd & dear Sir,

I have recd your Letter of ye 6th Instt; & in reference to ye Subject of it, I refer you to a Passage in my Charge delivered at our last diocesan Convention, p. 17. 1. from B. 2. You will perceive that there is Sanction given to such Associations as that you have described, distinguished from those wch are Gatherings open to all Comers, & held without Regard to ye Services of ye Church. How far it may be expedient for ye Pastor to superintend, & to give a proper Direction to ye Devotions performed on such Occasions as those described by you, must depend on Circumstances; & is what I commend, in ye present Instance to ye Exercise of your Judgement.

That ye proposed Association may be blessed to ye pro-

fessed Object of it, is ye Wish & ye Prayer of your affte  
Brother

Wm. White

COPY OF A LETTER TO D<sup>r</sup> CASPAR MORRIS  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 19, 1832

Dear Sir,

You have communicated to me, from y<sup>e</sup> rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Chaderton of St. Louis, y<sup>e</sup> Request of my Opinion on a Point of ministerial Duty. My Esteem for him, & Conviction of y<sup>e</sup> Importance of ye Inquiry, induce this early Answer.

I do not think that a Clergyman of our Church is justifiable, in administering y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance of Baptism to Persons who have been received, or intended to be received within y<sup>e</sup> christian Pale, under non-episcopalian Baptism; but with Forms accompanied by y<sup>e</sup> Element of Water, & in y<sup>e</sup> Name of y<sup>e</sup> Father, of y<sup>e</sup> Son, & of y<sup>e</sup> Holy Ghost.

For y<sup>e</sup> last Rubric but one, under y<sup>e</sup> Head of "Private Baptism", it appears, that y<sup>e</sup> said two Circumstances are thought y<sup>e</sup> only essential Parts of y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance.

Perhaps, y<sup>e</sup> best Interpretation of Laws, is Practice under them; especially if it have been continued thro' Ages, & without Interruption. This is precisely y<sup>e</sup> Case, with y<sup>e</sup> Construction given to y<sup>e</sup> present Subject, by y<sup>e</sup> Church of England.

Previously to y<sup>e</sup> Reformation, it was a frequent & allowed Practice for midwives to baptize, in Cases of Emergency. To give a Check to this, it was provided in y<sup>e</sup> conference held at Hampton Court, under James y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>, that none besides duly authorized Ministers, should administer y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance. But this Provision was without nullifying y<sup>e</sup> Act, when otherwise performed. On y<sup>e</sup> contrary it was contended, without Disallowance, by one of y<sup>e</sup> Bishops, that "this was agreeable to y<sup>e</sup> Practice of y<sup>e</sup> Primitive Church"; & by another of them, that to bar private Persons from baptizing in Cases of Necessity, was to cross on all Antiquity". Soon after, there arose y<sup>e</sup> Party of y<sup>e</sup> Puritans, which led to their Secession, under y<sup>e</sup> Name of Presbyterians. Doubtless their Ministers, & those ordained by them, performed y<sup>e</sup> Office of Baptism; which was irregular, after y<sup>e</sup> Prohibition of Hampton Court; & yet, their Acts were held good, under y<sup>e</sup> Maxim "quod non debet fieri, factum valet".

Light may be gathered from y<sup>e</sup> Circumstances in which y<sup>e</sup> Church was placed by y<sup>e</sup> Restoration of Charles y<sup>e</sup> Second. A Generation had grown up, a great Proportion of which, probably y<sup>e</sup> Majority, had received non-episcopalian Baptism. Yet it does not appear, that any Question was then made of its Validity.

The first we read of this, was in y<sup>e</sup> latter part of y<sup>e</sup> Reign of Queen Ann; when it was a political manœuvre, intended to

discredit y<sup>e</sup> Family on whom y<sup>e</sup> Crown had been entailed. The Jacobites being in high Spirits from y<sup>e</sup> Prospect of introducing y<sup>e</sup> Pretender, it was thought conducive to y<sup>e</sup> End, to charge y<sup>e</sup> said Family with being unbaptized Lutherans; & therefore, not qualified to occupy y<sup>e</sup> Throne.

This Pretence had so extensive a Circulation, as to draw y<sup>e</sup> Attention of y<sup>e</sup> Bishops. The Result was a general Meeting of them, at y<sup>e</sup> Palace of y<sup>e</sup> Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; where they came to y<sup>e</sup> unanimous Resolution, to discourage dissenting Baptism; but not to add to it that which is episcopalian. A detailed Account of this Matter may be seen in y<sup>e</sup> archdeaconal Charges of Dr Thomas Sharp, Son of Archbishop Sharp of York, & Father of y<sup>e</sup> late Granville Sharp.

It appears to me, that what has been stated should silence y<sup>e</sup> Scruples, which M<sup>r</sup> Chaderton finds to be pressing on y<sup>e</sup> Consciences of some of his Parishioners. But if y<sup>e</sup> Embarrassment should continue; it may be well to counterbalance it, by y<sup>e</sup> Scruples likely to be excited in others, by y<sup>e</sup> Introduction of a novel & unnecessary Practice. Not only so, it may lead to y<sup>e</sup> further Measure, of calling for an ecclesiastical Law for its Support. Consistency will require this.

These Remarks are made, only on y<sup>e</sup> Ground of what y<sup>e</sup> Church requires of her Ministers. If there should be an Appeal to Scripture; it will not be pretended, either that there is expressly a Restriction of y<sup>e</sup> Power to y<sup>e</sup> Clergy, or that it is necessarily implied in y<sup>e</sup> commission given to ordain. The Negative of this, is at least proble from several Passages. The Fruit of y<sup>e</sup> first Sermon of St. Peter, delivered immediately after y<sup>e</sup> Holy Ghost, was, that "there were added to y<sup>e</sup> Church about three thousand Souls": who were immediately baptized. It seems impossible that it should have been done in one Day by y<sup>e</sup> twelve Apostles, then y<sup>e</sup> only commissioned Ministry. This Passage was brought forwards in y<sup>e</sup> Conference at Hampton Court. When Philip baptized y<sup>e</sup> Ethiopian Eunuch & many of y<sup>e</sup> inhabitants of Samaria, he was only a Deacon; & it was very soon after he was set apart, with six others, for y<sup>e</sup> Care of y<sup>e</sup> Poor. Now altho' our non-episcopal Brethren make too much of this; contending that Deacons should be kept within y<sup>e</sup> Bounds of their original Appointment; contrary, as we think to Evidence of their being afterwards employed in other Services; it is very improbable, that in y<sup>e</sup> incipient Stage of their Ministration, there had taken place such an Enlargement of their Commission as ————— y<sup>e</sup> Remark of St. Paul—"they who have used y<sup>e</sup> Office of a Deacon well, purchase to themselves a good Degree, & great Boldness in y<sup>e</sup> Faith which is in Christ Jesus". When St. Peter commanded that Cornelius & his Household should be baptized, it must have been by y<sup>e</sup> Instrumentality of y<sup>r</sup> three Men who accompanied Him; in y<sup>e</sup> Mention of whom, there is nothing which suggests y<sup>e</sup> Idea of their being of y<sup>e</sup> Number of y<sup>e</sup> ordained.

If these Sentiments be correct, subsequent Restraint, altho' highly reasonable, was by ecclesiastical Authority.

The present Question, has a serious Effect on that of y<sup>e</sup> Episcopacy; invalidating y<sup>e</sup> Acts of Many english Bishops, & of some of our own Church. If we extend y<sup>e</sup> Retrospect to y<sup>e</sup> Ages before y<sup>e</sup> Reformation; it is doubtful, whether there be a validly ordained Bishop in Christendom. The only Solution of y<sup>e</sup> Difficulty, has been ye likening of ye Transaction to y<sup>e</sup> Act of a sovereign Prince, who should constitute as his Ambassador a Man not his Subject. On this slender Basis, y<sup>e</sup> opposite Theory is content to rest y<sup>e</sup> cause of Episcopacy. But there is a wide Difference in y<sup>e</sup> two cases. In that of y<sup>e</sup> Prince, the contemplated Agency has Respect to two co-ordinate Sovereignities. In y<sup>e</sup> other Case, y<sup>e</sup> Mission is to Multitudes estranged from God by Nature: of which Number, were y<sup>e</sup> supposed \_\_\_\_\_ for y<sup>e</sup> gathering & y<sup>e</sup> confirming of Churches. To suppose them sent, without y<sup>e</sup> prescribed Test of their own Allegiance, & of an Interest taken in y<sup>e</sup> Work, is to imagine a Provision not suited to divine Wisdom.

No such Notion was in y<sup>e</sup> Mind of St Paul, when he said to Timothy—"y<sup>e</sup> Things thou hast heard of me, y<sup>e</sup> same commit thou to faithful Men": thus designated by a Word, of which y<sup>e</sup> Original is currently applied in y<sup>e</sup> New Testament to Persons in y<sup>e</sup> Character of Members of y<sup>e</sup> Christian Church. The same Apostle prescribes that a Bishop be apt to teach. But can this belong to his Character, when, on y<sup>e</sup> Conditions of his Admission to y<sup>e</sup> Episcopacy, he is considered either as relieved of teaching Matters so important as are y<sup>e</sup> Sacraments, or as required to teach them in such a Manner, as implies a dispensing with Compliance\*

Those of y<sup>e</sup> Clergy who shall adopt y<sup>e</sup> Theory here rejected, may be embarrassed by what Scripture says expressly, that there is "One Baptism". How will y<sup>e</sup> Pastor of a Congregation reconcile this, with ye Admission of any Member of it to y<sup>e</sup> Communion, on y<sup>e</sup> Ground of non-episcopalian Baptism, & y<sup>e</sup> tearing of it as a Nullity in another.

My dear Sir, I have delivered my Sentiments on y<sup>e</sup> Subject. In transmitting them to M<sup>r</sup> Chaderton, be pleased to assure him of an Interest taken by me in his Concerns, both personal & ministerial.

And believe me to be, affectionately,

Your humble Servant

Wm: White

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\*It may be said that neither would St. Paul have countenanced a Bishop in what has often happened, the admitting of an unworthy Man of any Description to y<sup>e</sup> Episcopacy. This must be granted. A Bishop may misuse his Power from Mistake, or rashly, or even wickedly. This is incidental to y<sup>e</sup> Imperfection of human Affairs. But it has no Bearing on y<sup>e</sup> Question, whether he may associate with himself in Office, a Person of whom it is evident from y<sup>e</sup> Character in which he presents himself, that "he has neither Part nor Lot in y<sup>e</sup> Matter.



## STATEMENT ON PUBLIC BAPTISM. 1833.

Having been requested by my rev<sup>d</sup> Brethren of y<sup>e</sup> City of y<sup>e</sup> Liberties, to introduce a strict Adherence to y<sup>e</sup> Rubrics requiring y<sup>e</sup> Administration of Baptism to be public, & intending Compliance with y<sup>e</sup> Request, I prepare y<sup>e</sup> following Statement & Subjects of Consideration to be submitted to them.

Soon after my entering on y<sup>e</sup> Duties of y<sup>e</sup> Episcopacy in y<sup>e</sup> Year 1787, I received a similar Request from y<sup>e</sup> Clergy of y<sup>e</sup> City, with y<sup>e</sup> promise of Support. The Design was carried into Effect, & continued about 12 Years: when I became solicited by several of my Brethren to discontinue, because y<sup>e</sup> Children of a few Families remained unbaptized, on this Account. For some time my Answer was, that y<sup>e</sup> Neglect would be only in Relation to Children, who were not likely to receive a religious Education; & that if, in succeeding Life, they should be visited by religious Impressions, it would be early enough in their Case, to take on themselves y<sup>e</sup> chrestian Profession in y<sup>e</sup> prescribed Form.

During y<sup>e</sup> Continuance of y<sup>e</sup> Practice, it was no small Satisfaction to remark, that there was a more frequent Baptism of some Adult, than at any preceding Extent of Time during my Ministry; doubtless owing to it's having less of Appearance of an unimportant Transaction. From Predeliction of y<sup>e</sup> appointed Mode, I had during my Ministry; & have to this Day, escaped from proffered Gratuities for private Baptism, on y<sup>e</sup> Principle, that if such a Source of pastoral Revenue should be general, it would raise a perpetual Bar against y<sup>e</sup> Restoration of proper Order in this Matter. When, at last, I complied with repeated Solicitations, it was owing partly to Deviations of some of my rev<sup>d</sup> Brethren from strict Compliance with y<sup>e</sup> Rubrics, & partly to my own Sensibility produced by special Cases which cannot but occur; & which I wish to be considered by y<sup>e</sup> present Applicants; that we may be prepared to meet them, & act on a common ground.

1st. In some Places, where public Baptism is contended for, & y<sup>e</sup> Rubric is held up as Authority, y<sup>e</sup> Ordinance is administered after Dismission of y<sup>e</sup> Congregation. No one will sav, that this is rubrical: & if it should be done among us, as formerly in some Cases, it would be an Encouragement to y<sup>e</sup> Reproach, that our own Case is our Motive to y<sup>e</sup> Change: for we know, that it prevents many Calls on us which must be attended to immediately; sometimes with great Inconvenience to ourselves.

2<sup>dly</sup> It has sometimes happened, that a Child must be immediately taken out of Town, for some cause connected with Health & yet not labouring under material Indisposition. It is going to a Neighbourhood, in which in Case of dangerous Sickness, there will be no Opportunity of private Baptism.

3<sup>dly</sup> A Clergyman, in his Journeys, thro Districts of

Country in which there is no Church, is solicited to baptize. It is problematical, whether y<sup>e</sup> Parents will ever have it in their Power, to make a subsequent Presentation.

4<sup>thly</sup> It is of ordinary Occurrence, that y<sup>e</sup> Mother wishes to be present at y<sup>e</sup> Baptism of her Child. To meet her wishes Baptism is liable to very considerable Postponement. Other Causes of bodily Indisposition occur to prevent y<sup>e</sup> Attendance of one of y<sup>e</sup> Parents. We should be prepared for them; & understand one another, on y<sup>e</sup> question of unyielding Requisition.

I request y<sup>e</sup> Sentiments of my Brethren on y<sup>e</sup> above Points.

Wm: White.

WHITE, RT. REV. WILLIAM.

*A Prayer for a Young Woman.*

My gracious Father; I present unto thee myself, Soul & Body; my Thoughts & my Words, my Actions & my Intentions, my Affections & my Passions, to be guided by thy Counsels, to be sanctified by thy Spirit & to be directed by thy sovereign Will. Preserve me from all unreasonable & unholy Desires, from Impatience, from unprovoked & excessive Anger, & from whatever else is Evidence of an unsubdued Spirit; ye Issue of Frailty or of Corruption of ye Body of Sin & Death. May thy Providence be my Guide, under all ye Dangers attendant on this Life of Tryal; may thy Holy Spirit be my Preserver under all its Temptations; & may thy Word be my Consolation, under all its Disappointments & its Sorrows. Raise my Thoughts & my Desires to heavenly Things. Pardon ye Sins, into which, thro Frailty I have fallen; & give me holy Purposes of Amendment, with Strength to perform faithfully, whatever I may design sincerely. Teach me, in Consideration of ye Uncertainty of Life, to be always prepared for my latter End; so that by Diligence & Integrity in whatever Circumstances may be allotted to me, by Constancy & Fervour in my Devotions, by Integrity & Charity in all my Words & Actions, & by Moderation in all my Enjoyments, I may be prepared for ye Account to be rendered in ye Judgement on all Things done in ye Body. Finally, in Life & in Death, may I promote thy Glory; so as to be accepted thro ye Merits of ye only Mediator between God & Man; who, in ye Days of his Humanity, went about doing Good; & who has left us an Example, that we should follow his Steps, thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: to whom be Glory forever & ever. Amen.

## PORTRAITS OF BISHOP WHITE

*By James A. Montgomery*

### HENRY INMAN

(1) Full-length seated figure, by the communion table; in the library of the General Theological Seminary; through the engraving by C. E. Wagstaff probably the best known of the portraits.

(2) Head and shoulders; in the hall of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; the engraving from it is the frontispiece of Bird Wilson's *Memoir*.

### BASS OTIS

(3) Head and shoulders; in the library of the Valley Forge Memorial Chapel.

### CHARLES WILLSON PEALE

(4) Miniature in "court dress"; 1771 (?); property of Rev. James A. Montgomery, Philadelphia; reproduced in L. C. Washburn, *Christ Church*.

### GILBERT STUART

(5) Head and shoulders; "painted about 1798"; see George C. Mason, *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart* (1879), p. 277, and John Hill Morgan, *Gilbert Stuart* (1926), II, 809, reproduced in plate no. 305; in the Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

(6) Head and shoulders: property of Mrs. Sharswood Brinton, Philadelphia.

### THOMAS SULLY

See Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, *Life and Works of Thomas Sully* (1921); the numbering there given is here repeated.

(7) No. 1963. Three-quarters length, seated; at the side a dim table with chalice; property of Mrs. Sharswood Brinton.

(8) No. 1964. Head and shoulders; copied from Gilbert Stuart; in the hall of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

(9) No. 1966. Head and shoulders: 1828; property of Mrs. William Howard Hart, Ambler, Pa.

(10) No. 1967. Head and shoulders; 1829; property of William W. Montgomery, Esq., Philadelphia.

(11) No. 1969. Head and shoulders; presented by the Sully Family

to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, given by the latter to the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Of nos. 1965, 1968 I have no information as to present location.

Further are to be noted:

(12) A miniature; artist unknown; property of George L. Harrison, Esq., St. David's, Pa.;

Two lithographs by Albert Newsam: (1) the subject in walking posture, of which more than one type; (2) head and shoulders, printed in the Annual Reports of the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, 1820-1844, and reprinted in the Institute's *Mount Airy World* for November, 1936;

A plaster bust, life size, of which there were once many examples, one now in the tower room of Christ Church.

I express my obligation to William White, Esq., for information on several of the portraits, and for most of the bibliographical references.



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*By E. Clowes Chorley*

BISHOP WHITE was a prolific writer on both secular and religious subjects. Methodical to a degree, he left behind a list of his writings compiled by his own hand. In a sermon preached by the Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens, Bishop of Pennsylvania, on the occasion of the celebration of the centennial of the consecration of Bishop White, his successor said:

"His position as presiding Bishop gave great weight to his opinions, and his thoughtful, calm and judicious views, quietly expressed, and firmly held, may be said to have shaped the Protestant Episcopal Church for nearly half a century. He is the only one of the early bishops who has left behind him published works, unfolding the proceedings of those early efforts to organize the Church, and the only one who has expounded the theological sentiments of our creed, and catechism and ordinal.

These volumes are to the proceedings of the conventions which framed our Church what the 'Federalist' and 'The Madison Papers' are to the proceedings of the conventions which framed the Constitution of the United States. They derive their value, not only as contemporary testimony of the views and principles held at that time, but also give us the interpretation of principles and actions by one, himself a prominent actor, and well qualified to state what he knew of the sentiments then held and embodied in constitutional, or canonical, or liturgic laws and ritual.

It is most fortunate for our Church that Bishop White, with that prudence and foresight which always distinguished him, wrote out his "Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church", his "Lectures on the Catechism", his "Commentary on the Ordination Offices", his ten "Pastoral Letters of the House of Bishops", and sundry other valuable and important publications. He was frank in the expression of his views, and manfully defended what he regarded as the sound doctrines and pure worship of the Church over which he presided".

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*\*The compiler is indebted to Bird Wilson's Memoir of Bishop White for material aid in this list which, however, does not profess to be complete.*

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Maryland  
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And  
South-Carolina.

By The Rev. William White, D. D., and Rector of Christ-Church and St. Peter's, in Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Printed by Hall And Sellers. MDCCLXXXVI.

1801. A Sermon Delivered Before The General Convention Of The Protestant Episcopal Church In The United States of America In St. Michael's Church, Trenton, New Jersey, on Friday, September 11th, 1801, On The Occasion Of The Meeting Of The Said Convention, And Of The Consecration Of The Right Reverend Bishop Moore Of New-York. By The Right Reverend William White, D. D., Bishop Of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania. New York. Printed by T. & J. Swords, No. 99 Pearl Street.

1808. A Sermon On The Character, The Commission And The Message Of The Gospel Ministry: Delivered At The Opening Of A General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, In St. Paul's Church, in the City of Baltimore, on the 18th Day of May, A.D. 1808. By The Right Reverend William White, D. D., Bishop Of The Protestant Episcopal Church In The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. New York: Printed By T. & J. Swords, No. 160 Pearl Street. 1808.

1811. The Integrity Of Christian Doctrine, And The Sanctity Of Christian Practice, United In Christian Preaching, In A Sermon, Delivered in Trinity Church, in the City of New-Haven, on Wednesday, the 22nd Day of May, 1811, at the Opening of the Convention Of The Protestant Episcopal Church In The United States of America. To Which is annexed, A Concluding Address, Delivered in Trinity Church, in the City of New-York, on Wednesday, May 29, 1811, At The Consecration Of Two Presbyters To The Episcopal Office. By William White, D.D., Bishop Of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania. New York: Printed by T. & J. Swords, No. 160 Pearl Street. 1811.

The two Presbyters consecrated on this occasion were John Henry Hobart as Assistant-Bishop of New York, and Alexander Viets Griswold as Bishop of the Eastern Diocese.



1816. A Sermon On The Amiableness of Devotion: Of Public Devotion In Particular; And Of Place Appropriated To It. From Psalm lxxxiv. 1. Delivered at the Consecration of St. John's Church, in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, September 16, 1816. And Published at the Desire of The Rector, The Church Wardens, and The Vestrymen Of The Said Church. By William White, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Printed by J. Maxwell. 1816. Pp. 21.

1819. Of The Gospel, As The Power Of God Unto Salvation. A Sermon Delivered In Trinity Church, New Haven, On Wednesday, October 27, 1819, At The Consecration Of The Right Rev. Thomas C. Brownell, Bishop Of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the State Of Connecticut. By William White, D.D., Bishop Of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania. New Haven: Printed by A. H. Maltby & Co., Chapel Street. 1819.

1827. Narrative Of The Consecration Of The Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, D. D., With the Address of the Presiding Bishop. Published by the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Jasper Harding, Printer, 35 Carters Alley.

The Address was delivered by Bishop White.

1830. Address By The Right Reverend William White, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, and Presiding in the House of Bishops, on the occasion of the Consecration of the Rt. Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk as Bishop of New York. New York: Protestant Episcopal Press. MDCCCXXX.

Two Essays Designed especially for the Perusal of Students in Theology. Essay I. On the Terms, Sacrifice, Altar and Priest; Essay II. On Certain Questions Relative to the Eucharist. *Episcopal Magazine*, January and February, 1820.

Three Smaller Tracts. I. Remarks on Experiences, as a Subject of Ordinary Conversation and of Ecclesiastical Inquiry. II. Remarks on the Phrase, "Vital Godliness". III. Remarks on the Phrase, "The Hiding of God's Face". *Christian Journal*, December, 1819, January and February, 1820.

Vindication of Bishop Seabury. *Christian Journal*, January, 1821.

Conversations of a Minister with a Parishioner, on Baptismal Regeneration. *Christian Journal*, March, April, June and July, 1822.

Answers to Philos. *Philadelphia Recorder*, August and September, 1823.

An Address Delivered at Laying the Corner Stone of the Building for the Deaf and Dumb, on the 15th of June, 1824. *National Gazette*, June 17, 1824.

An Address at Laying of the Corner Stone of the General Theological Seminary, New York, July, 1825.

Defence of Bishop Hobart's Sermon in Rome. *Church Register*, January 7th, 1826.

Remarks on the Commentary of the Reverend Thomas Scott. *Church Register*, February 11, 18, 25 and April 29, 1826.

Of Primitive Facts Explanatory of Scripture. *Church Register*, January 21 and 28, 1826.

Concerning the Latin Translation of the Articles. *Church Register*, April 15, 1826.

Five Charges to the diocese of Pennsylvania for the years 1807, 1825, 1831, 1832 and 1834.

Five Addresses delivered to the Trustees, Faculty and Students of the General Theological Seminary for the years 1822, 1824, 1827, 1828 and 1829.

Ten Pastoral Letters of the House of Bishops from 1808 to 1835 inclusive. All written by Bishop White.

An Essay Containing Objections against the Position of a Personal Assurance of the Pardon of Sin, by a Direct Communication of the Holy Spirit. First published in the *Christian Register* in 1816; later in pamphlet form with notes. Philadelphia, 1817.

An Essay Noticing some Errors in the Ecclesiastical History of Dr. Lawrence Mosheim; in the Notes of Dr. Archibald Maclain on the same; and in the History of the Puritans by Daniel Neal. *Christian Journal*, April and May, 1818. With an Appendix in manuscript.

An Essay on Religious Societies and Prayer Meetings. *Christian Journal*, 1819.

An Essay Concerning a Pretended Imitation of the "Kiss of Charity", spoken of in Rom. xvi. 16, and four other places of Scripture: Designed Especially for the Perusal of Students in Theology. *Christian Journal*, February, 1819.

Vindication of Archbishop Secker. *Episcopal Magazine*, April, 1820.

A Catechism on the Constitution of the Christian Church, its Ministries and its Services, as maintained by the Protestant Episcopal Church. *Episcopal Magazine*, May, 1820.

An Essay on the Question of the Validity of Lay Baptism. *Episcopal Magazine*, June, 1820.

Of the Testimony of the Church to the Books of Scripture. *Church Register*, March 18, 1826.

Of Bowing at the Name of Jesus. *Church Register*, January 27, 1827.

An Opinion Concerning the Will of Stephen Girard. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, January 26, 1832. Also printed in Bird Wilson's Memoir of Bishop White, p. 233ff.

Mr. Girard, a Philadelphia merchant, left funds for the establishment of a College, but prohibiting the admission of any clergyman of any denomination within its walls. Bishop White in this Opinion urged the City Council to decline the bequest.

An Opinion Relative to a Supposed Case of Intended Marriage. October, 1809.

An Address at the University of Pennsylvania, September 20, 1813, on the Introduction of Drs. Beasley and Patterson. *United States Gazette*, September 28, 1813.

An Address to the Female Bible Society. *Pamphlet*. March 23, 1814.

Two Addresses to the Special Convention (Pennsylvania) in 1826. Published in the Journal of the Convention and in pamphlet form; also in Appendix viii of Bird Wilson's Memoir of Bishop White.

An Address at the Laying of the Corner Stone of a Monument to General Washington, February 22, 1833.

Three Letters to the Editor of the *American Quarterly Review*, Concerning an Article in that work, on the Subject of the Religious Observance of One Day in Seven, in Connection with that of Sunday mails. *Protestant Episcopalian*, October, 1830.

Address of the Clergy to General La Fayette. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, 1824.

An Address Concerning the Greeks. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, December 11, 1823.

An Address Concerning the Cherokees. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, January 13, 1830. Printed in the Memoir, p. 286.

Considerations Expressed with Brevity, in Reference to the Institutions and Practices of the Episcopal Church; and Addressed by the Pastor of Three Congregations to those of his Parishioners by whom they are Entirely or in Part Disregarded.

Additional Instructions to the Missionaries to China. *Missionary Record*, May 29, 1835. Printed in Memoir, p. 248.

Thoughts on the Singing of Psalms and Anthems in Churches. *Pamphlet*, signed "Silas". Reprinted in the *Christian Journal* for May and June, 1808.

A Prayer and Address at the Opening of the Hall of the Washington Benevolent Society, October, 1816.

Answer to an Attack in "the Aurora" Concerning the Mitre on the Steeple of Christ Church. Printed before the Decease of B. F. Bache.

A Narrative Concerning Lieutenant Asgill. Museum of June, 1835.

An Address and Form of Prayer on Occasion of the Decease of the Honourable John Marshall. Printed in the Memoir, Appendix V.

Preface to the Sermons of the Reverend William Smith, D.D., who Died while his Sermons were in Press. These Sermons were published in 1803 by Hugh Maxwell and William Fry, 25 North Second Street, Philadelphia.

A Conversation on the Subject of Original Sin. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 2, pp. 151 and 231.

Succession of the English Episcopacy from the Greek Church. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 2, p. 307.

Notices of Certain Periods in the Ecclesiastical History of England; Designed for Students in Theology. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 2, pp. 423 and 447.

Defence of the Measure of the House of Bishops in 1801, on the Question of Consecrating a Bishop for the Diocese of New York. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 3, p. 68. (The reference is to the consecration of Benjamin Moore as Assistant Bishop of New York, Bishop Samuel Provoost having resigned his jurisdiction.

On the Effect of the Proceedings of the Council of Trent on the Question of Episcopacy. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 3, p. 93.

Essay on the Infallibility Claimed by the Roman Catholic Church: Designed for the Perusal of Young Persons under an Incipient Danger of Seduction to the Roman Catholic Church. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 3, p. 416.

An Argument in Favour of Divine Revelation, from the Fact that it is the Only Source of the Knowledge of God, now or ever in the possession of Mankind. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 4, p. 249. Appendix, p. 456.

Expositions of Certain Passages of Scripture, often Quoted for the Increase of Piety, but with such Misinterpretations as Tend to an Opposite Result: with an Appendix. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 4, p. 387.

Extension of the Principle of Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk's Charge on the Rule of Faith, in 1833. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 4, p. 417; Vol. 5, pp. 217, 256, 299, 330, 416, and 449; Vol. 6, pp. 29, 113.

An Argument against Roman Catholicism, from there being no Evidence of its Pretensions, either in those Passages of Holy Scripture, or in those Records of Primitive Antiquity, in which, if Valid, they would naturally be Expected. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 6, p. 294.

On the Division of Dioceses. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 6, p. 327.

Essay on the Use of the Word "Priest" in the Institutions of the Episcopal Church. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 6, p. 413.

To the foregoing the Bishop adds the following:

In ye Year 1807, I printed & distributed "Thoughts on ye singing of Psalms & Anthems in Churches". The Conductors of "The Christian Journal", then edited in Connecticut, reprinted it in May & June 1808. Since that, it has been reprinted by Mr Armat of Germantown.

In a paper, dated November 28, 1833, Bishop White gives a "List of my Publications". It is as follows (omitting those previously listed in this Bibliography):

#### SERMONS

From St. John 21.24. On ye Character of S. John ye Evangelist. Before ye Society of Free Masons. December 27, 1784.

From Psalm 45.14. Before ye General Convention. June 21, 1786.

From Deut<sup>y</sup> 8.10. On ye Day before my setting off for England: being ye Sunday before ye Day of ye annual Thanksgiving, Oct. 29, 1786.

From Deut<sup>y</sup> 33.7. On a Day of Thanksgiving appointed by ye Civil Authority. Feb<sup>y</sup> 19, 1795.

From Rom. 13.1,12. On a Fast Day April 25, 1799.

From St. Luke 12.42. Before ye General Convention: there being also ye Consecration of Bp. Parker. Sep 14, 1804.

From Habakkuk 2.20. At ye Consecration of St. James Church Philada May 4, 1809.

From Mal. 1.14. At ye first annual Meeting of ye Society for ye Advancement of Christianity in Pensylvania. (1813)

From Ex<sup>s</sup> 2.10. Before ye Managers of ye Orphan Asylum, Meh 5, 1815.

From St Matt<sup>w</sup> 2.16. At ye Assembling of ye Sunday Schools, Dec. 28, 1817.

From Ps. 96.9. At ye Consecration of several Churches; & finally of Trinity Church, Pittsburg, June 12, 1825.



- From 1 Cor. 3.11-16. At an Ordination in St. Stephen's Church, Pha  
Sep 25, 1825.
- From Revelation 2.10. in St. James Church, Pha at y<sup>e</sup> Consecration of  
Bp: Meade Aug 19, 1829.
- From Eccles. 12.1. At y<sup>e</sup> House of Refuge, June 4, 1829.
- From Ps. 33.1. in Baltimore, preparatory to y<sup>e</sup> Consecration of Bishop  
Stone.
- From Ish 51.7. Before y<sup>e</sup> Convention in Delaware, in Wilmington, June  
19, 1832.
- From Rom. 12.1. Published in y<sup>e</sup> American Pulpit, May 1832.
- From 1 Peter 3.15. Before y<sup>e</sup> Theological Seminary, Oct 28, 1832.
- From Ps. 23.4. Published in y<sup>e</sup> American Pulpit. Jan<sup>y</sup> 1833.

All the foregoing Titles are taken from a list in the handwriting of Bishop White who wrote: "The productions noticed in this paper are, to the best of my recollection, all published by me to the end of 1835". The purpose of the list is stated to be "the guarding against there being hereafter exhibited, as published by the author, any production which was not his".\* The Bishop's Biographer, however, adds the following publications not listed above:

A Caution against the Misrepresentations in a Late Work, entitled, "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion." *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 4, p. 466.

An Essay on Variety in Prayer. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 6, p. 130.

Address and Prayer at the Centennial Celebration of the Birth of General Washington. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, February 22, 1832.

A Doubt Concerning the Usual Interpretations of Revelations. XIV, 6, 7. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 7, p. 74.

A Dialogue Between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic, Concerning the Name of the Church of the Latter. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 7, p. 99.

A Dialogue between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic, Concerning certain Attributes, Claimed as Characteristic of the Church of the Latter. With an Appendix. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 7, p. 133.

An Essay on the Wandering of the Mind in Prayer. *Protestant Episcopalian*, Vol. 7, p. 274. Also printed in the Memoir, Appendix X.

#### MANUSCRIPTS.

Bishop White left behind a large number of Manuscripts. In a memorandum, dated October 10, 1935, he wrote:

"With my Lists of my printed Publications, I have given y<sup>e</sup> Reason for y<sup>e</sup> preparing of them. A similar Reason is obvious, for y<sup>e</sup> leaving of a List of what will remain in Manuscripts. The Measure, however, unimportant to Society, seems to be called for by a Regard to my Reputa-

\*Byrd Wilson. Memoir of Bishop White, p. 313.

tion; in which there will be felt an Interest by those of my Family who may survive me.

Wm: White

P. S. Some of ye Manuscripts were owing to ye Privation felt by me in ye Loss of my Teeth. On some Occasions Discussion may be shortened, by Offers of my Opinion in Writing.

These manuscripts may also be of use to me, on any future Occasions of correspondence on ye same Subjects."

\* \* \* \* \*

"As ye Fruit of much Study of ye Controversy with ye People called Quakers, but consistently with my Esteem for the, as a Society, & for many of them individually, I prepared, many years ago, a Work in Answer to Barclays Apology. In ye Progress of it, I perceived a Propriety in attending to that of Thomas Clarkson; which I judged to abound in erroneous Statements; to be presumed unintentional, because of his excellent Character. My Manuscripts would make 3 Vol Octo. Having lost considerably by former Publications, I hesitated to publish this large Work. It lies by me; & I shall leave it, in Uncertainty as to any further Use. It has had that of strengthening me, in ye Principles in which I had been educated.

At a certain Period, I digested from it an abstract Manuscript, entitled "Hints to assist in reading Barclay's Apology". Even this I hesitated to publish, as it seemed too naked to be interesting. It fills about a Quire of Paper, in my usual hand-writing."

Autobiography. This was written in answer to the request of Bishop Hobart and embodied in a letter to him in September, 1819. It covered the chief events of White's life up to the first steps taken for the organization of the Church in 1783. Bird Wilson quotes fully from the manuscript in his Memoir of Bishop White. Careful inquiry has failed to discover this important document.

A Narrative Of The Organization, And Of the Subsequent Proceedings Of The Protestant Episcopal Church In the Commonwealth Of Pennsylvania. By William White, D. D., Bishop Of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth Of Pennsylvania.

The manuscript of this paper was given by Bishop White to the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks and published by Dr. Hawks in 1850.

Four Lectures, additional to those on the Catechism, on the Three-fold State of Man.

A Short Essay on the Analogy of the Understanding and the Will: Annexed to those Lectures.

One Hundred and Sixty-one Selected Sermons.

A Commentary on all the Passages in the New Testament relative to the Ministry. Published, to the end of the First Epistle to Timothy, in the *Episcopal Magazine* for 1820 and 1821.

A Counter Apology for the Divinity of the Holy Scriptures, in a Review of the Apology of Robert Barclay on the Same Subject; with Notice of some Passages in the Works of Thomas Clarkson, A.M., entitled "The Portraiture of Quakerism"; and an Appendix, containing an Account of the Controversy between Charles Leslie and Joseph Wyeth.

In three volumes. Begun in 1805; resumed in 1810 and finally revised in 1833. The Hicksite schism in the Society of Friends rendered its publication unnecessary.

Correspondence with Mr. Charles Miller of Boston, relative to King's Chapel. Bishop White's reply to a request for his opinion on the Prayer Book used in King's Chapel (Unitarian) Boston. Printed in Wilson's Memoir, Appendix II.

Address on Building a New Church, in 1806. Printed in Memoir, Appendix VI.

A Projected Report on the Table of Kindred and Affinity. Printed in Memoir, Appendix III.

Cautionary Letters to a Young Lady, by her Pastor, in Reference to the Danger of being Drawn into the Communion of the Roman Catholic Church. Printed in Memoir, Appendix XI.

An Essay on High Church Principles: with an Appendix.

A Conversation Between a Minister of the Gospel and one of his Parishioners, on the Subject of Conversion.

Conversations of a Minister with a Parishioner, on the Subject of Amusements.

Opinion Concerning the Theatre.

Two Remarkable Facts, having a Bearing on the Calvinistic Doctrine of a Natural Hatred of God.

Proposed Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, in the Articles, and in the Ordinal; to be Submitted in the Event of a Review. 1826 and 1831.

Two Remarks Concerning the Homilies.

A Thought Concerning our Prospects of the Future Fate of our Liturgy.

Doubts Concerning the Usual Interpretation of Certain Passages in the Book of Revelation.

An Essay Explaining and Applying Matthew XVI, 6, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy".

On the Question Concerning the Ending of the old Century, and the Beginning of the New.

Remarks Suggested by the Perusal of Cuvier's Theory of the Earth.

An Address Delivered at the Opening of the new Christ Church Hospital, April, 1819.

Remarks on a Narrative of a Death Bed Scene.

Remarks on a Publication in the *Recorder*, in which it is Affirmed that even the Words of Holy Scripture are Dictated by Inspiration.

Remarks on Rev. Henry M. Mason's Convention Sermon in 1834.

Form of Prayer Used at the Commencement in the University, in July 1834.

Prayer at the House of Refuge.

A Small Volume of Prayers Used at Meetings of Various Societies, and on other Special Occasions.

Letter to Dr. Caspar Morris, Concerning Non-Episcopalian Baptism.

An Opinion on the Question of Allowable Latitude in the use of the Book of Common Prayer: Especially Intended with Reference to Missionaries.

An Opinion Delivered at a Meeting of the Trustees of the University, September 28, 1835.

Letter to Joseph R. Ingersoll, Esq., with the Return of Lord Brougham's "Discourse on Natural Theology"; October 21, 1835.

An Expression of Doubt Concerning the Expediency of Temperance Societies.

Conversations concerning Amusements, y<sup>e</sup> Ground take(n), being still agreeable to y<sup>e</sup> Judgment of y<sup>e</sup> aged Author.

The following White manuscripts are in the possession of Christ Church, Philadelphia, the list being supplied by the courtesy of the Reverend Dr. Louis C. Washburn, rector of that historic parish:

#### SERMONS

Lists of Sermon Texts. 1825-1836.

Sermon—"Of Gospel Righteousness". Preached July 22, 1792.

"Of y<sup>e</sup> Rich Man."

"For y<sup>e</sup> Asylum, for Visitations, and for y<sup>e</sup> Mariners Church".

Commentary on Daniel 9:26.

"Of a faithful Discharge of y<sup>e</sup> Duties of y<sup>e</sup> Ministry".

Sermon XII—"Of God's definitive Character of Love".

Sermon XLIX—"Of working out Salvation".

Sermon XI—"Of the Truth of God". Preached Aug. 14, 1791 at Christ Church and St. Peter's. Preached Aug. 31, 1800 at Christ Church and St. Peter's.

Sermon LXXVI—"Of being not Hearers only but Doers".

Sermon CVI—"Of grateful Praise and Thanksgiving".

Sermon CXXXV—"Of a wounded Spirit".

Explanation of Application of John 3:16.

Sermon—"Of y<sup>e</sup> Gain of y<sup>e</sup> World in Account with y<sup>e</sup> Loss of y<sup>e</sup> Soul".

Sermon XLIII—"Of y<sup>e</sup> Abiding of y<sup>e</sup> Holy Ghost for ever". For Trinity Sunday.

A Sermon on y<sup>e</sup> Epiphany.

"Of y<sup>e</sup> Resurrection as declared in I Cor 15:58. Preached Easter, 1798 in Christ Church and St. Peter's.

Sermon—"On Duelling—added to Sermon for y<sup>e</sup> Miss<sup>y</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>, for y<sup>e</sup> Advancement Soc<sup>y</sup> and y<sup>e</sup> Theol<sup>l</sup> Sem<sup>y</sup> and Orphan School".

Sermon XX—"Of y<sup>e</sup> Character of Christ".

"Of y<sup>e</sup> great Gain of Godliness and Contentment".

"Of y<sup>e</sup> Use and y<sup>e</sup> Abuse of y<sup>e</sup> World".

"Of a sure Foundation".

Sermon XLVIII—"Of y<sup>e</sup> new Creation".

Sermon LXXVII—"The newness of y<sup>e</sup> Spirit contrasted with y<sup>e</sup> Oldness of y<sup>e</sup> Letter".

Sermon—"Of y<sup>e</sup> Enumeration of Days". Preached Dec. 31, 1797. Note at end of manuscript—"I lost my dear Son William on y<sup>e</sup> 22 of January, and my dearer Mrs. White, on y<sup>e</sup> 11 of December".

Sermon XLII—"Of Pentecost". For Whitsunday.



Sermon CXVI—"Of ye Consistency between ye general Duty and ye particular in Gal. VI:10". A Charity Sermon. Preached Dec. 22, 1799, in Christ Church and St. Peter's. Note on cover of manuscript—"Towards ye End, there is an Allusion to ye Decease of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, and to ye dressing of ye Pulpit, ye deask, etc. in black. His successor, President Adams, present".

Sermon CXV—"Of religious Patriotism". A Thanksgiving Day Sermon. "The Nature of the Service that God requires".

"The Advent of Christ". 1833.

"The Babe of Bethlehem". 1833.

"The Nature of Holiness". 1828.

"The Christian Walk". Preached several times between 1819 and 1832.

"On Afflictions". Preached several times between 1819 and 1832.

A charity Sermon for "the Society of poor Widows with small children". Preached several times between 1819 and 1832.

"On Religious Fervour". Preached several times between 1819 and 1832.

"On the Lord's Supper". Preached several times between 1817 and 1823.

"On the Lord's Supper". 2nd Part. Preached several times between 1817 and 1830.

"The work that every man has to do". New Year's Sermon. Preached several times between 1830 and 1833.

"Living and Dying with the Lord". 1833.

"Woe to them that are at ease in Zion." Preached several times between 1830 and 1832.

"Little children coming to Christ". 1833.

"The Day of Judgment". Preached several times between 1817 and 1826.

"The Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees". Preached several times between 1830 and 1833.

"The Benefits of Christ's death and the resulting obligations". 1833.

"An external call necessary to constitute a minister of God". 1833.

"On holding fast the profession of our faith". Preached several times between 1830 & 1832.

"On holding fast the profession of our faith". Preached several times between 1830 & 1832.

"The true dignity and safety of a Nation". Preached July 4, 1830.

"The Lord's Vineyard". Preached several times between 1830 and 1833.

*Bound in one volume*

Sermon—"Of ye Improvement of Time".

Sermon CXLV—"Of St. Paul at Athens".

Sermon CXLI—"Of ye Christian Passover". A Sermon for Easter.

Sermon CXVIII—"Of receiving Christ in ye Persons of Children".

A Charity Sermon for the Sunday School.

Sermon CXLX—"Of remembering with sympathy them that suffer".

A Charity Sermon.

#### ADDRESSES, LECTURES, NOTES

"Remarks on a Publication in ye Recorder". December 17, 1825.

"An Opinion on ye Question of Allowable Latitude in ye Use of ye Book of Common Prayer; especially intended with reference to Missionaries".

"The Analogy of ye Understanding and ye Will".

"Conversations concerning Amusements".

"A Dialogue on Conversion".

Notes to Four Lectures on Epistle to the Romans.

Notes on Calvinistic Controversy.

Reasons for refusal of dismissory letters to two deacons. 1830.

Notes on Roman Catholic practices, Methodism.

"Two facts against Calvinism". 1833.

"Opinion and Practice under y<sup>e</sup> first Canon of 1835 intended, if Occasion should require, for y<sup>e</sup> next General Convention".

"Opinion and Practice under y<sup>e</sup> second Section of first Canon of 1835".

#### MISCELLANEOUS

"List of Productions in Manuscripts". October 10, 1835. (In Bishop White's handwriting.)

"Hints to assist in y<sup>e</sup> reading of Barclay's Apology".

"Counter-Apology to Robert Barclay". 26 Folios. 1805-1833.

Printed Pamphlet "Notices of Certain Periods in the Ecclesiastical History of England Designed for Students in Theology" by Bishop White. Reprinted from the 'Protestant Episcopalian' for November, 1831. Contained in a notebook cover with outside title written by Bishop White.

The Life, Times, And Correspondence of William White, D. D., First Bishop of Pennsylvania By William Stevens Perry, Bishop of Iowa (1876-1898) and Historiographer of the American Church.

This work was never published, but two type-written copies are in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. They bear the date of 1887.

Notes on the Theology of Bishop White by the Rev. Dr. Leicester C. Lewis.

This contribution is published in *Advancing the Kingdom* 1784-1934. Published by Episcopal Tract Society of Philadelphia, April, 1934.

A Discourse Delivered In Christ Church, Philadelphia, At The Funeral of the Right Rev. William White, D. D., Late Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church In The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, And Rector of Christ Church, St. Peter's Church, and St. James' Church, Philadelphia, On Wednesday, July 20th, 1836. By The Right Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Jasper Harding, Printer. 1836. Pp. 28.



# A LOTTERY,

*To raise the Sum of Three Hundred Pounds, for the purpose of repairing  
the Churches and Glebe of St. Ann's Parish, in Essex County.*

## S C H E M E.

1 Prize of	1000 dollars is	1000
2	500	1000
3	200	600
6	100	600
10	50	500
26	20	520
1658	10	16580
	3	3004
1118 Prizes		6664
2214 Blanks		

3332 Tickets, at 2 dollars each, 6664 dollars.

This Lottery is composed of 3332 Tickets, and 2 Blanks to a Prize, and subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent. which is as favourable to adventurers as any Lottery yet offered to the public—It being of such evident utility, that it cannot be doubted but the undertaking will meet with the most liberal support.

The drawing will commence on the first Monday in August, or sooner if the Tickets are disposed of, in the county of Essex, at Mr. John Butler's, under the inspection of the Vestry of the said Parish.

Tickets to be had of the following persons, who are duly appointed Managers, and have given Bond and security for the faithful performance of their duty. A list of the fortunate numbers will be published, and the Prizes paid immediately after the drawing of the Lottery.

MUSCOE LIVINGSTON,	} MANAGERS.
WILLIAM WARING, Sen.	
WILLIAM WARING, Jun.	
ROBERT BAYLOR,	

N. B. Those prizes which are not demanded within 6 months after the drawing of the Lottery, will be considered as a generous donation to the Church.

Essex County, May 14, 1792.

ADVERTISEMENT OF A LOTTERY HELD BY THE VESTRY OF ST. ANNE'S PARISH,  
ESSEX COUNTY, VIRGINIA, IN 1792



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## JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, FIRST BISHOP OF VERMONT

*By Dr. John Henry Hopkins, III.*

FAIR back in the history of the mother country, the ancestry of the Hopkinses is rooted in central England. There are three branches of the family who have figured in Colonial and United States history, and they are but distantly related today. Many descendants have lived in the South, and are more or less connected with Stephen Hopkins, who signed the Declaration of Independence. The celebrated Mark Hopkins, who could have radiated an entire liberal education from his end of the famous "log" in or near Williams College, Massachusetts, was a shining member of the chief New England branch, and his distant cousin, Mark Hopkins, who is said to have received \$30,000,000, more or less, for his share in building the first Pacific railroad, was another distinguished member of the wide-spread clan.

The branch from which sprang the first Bishop of the diocese of Vermont is comparatively new on this side of the Atlantic, and is probably the least populous of the three American groups, there being only some 135 members of the "Hopkinsfolk", descended from the Bishop, now living in the United States.

The City of Coventry, in England, was represented in the House of Common by Hopkinses, in the reign of Richard the Second, before A. D. 1400. Isaac Hopkins went to Ireland with William the Third, and in 1691 married Mary Fitzgerald, thus establishing the section of the clan in which Bishop Hopkins was born, a century later.

He was the only child of Thomas Hopkins and Elizabeth Fitzakerly, and at the time of his birth in Dublin, January 22nd, 1792, his brilliant and accomplished mother was in her eighteenth year. She was a skilled musician, an artist also with brush and pencil, an eager reader of the best literature, and a sparkling conversationalist. She

bequeathed to her only child the rich endowment of artistic and intellectual ability which he diligently cultivated to such a remarkable degree during his entire life of nearly seventy-six years. She was not, however, markedly religious, nor was his father more than a merely nominal Christian. His parents gave him practically no spiritual instruction whatever. They did not become communicants until after he became a priest.

He was a lonely little boy, but unusually precocious. Early in his infancy he was sent to his paternal grandmother, in the town of Athlone, Ireland, who cared for him after a fashion until he was six. She was so busied with many visitors, much coming and going of relatives, and the distraction of generous Irish hospitality, that the child was largely left to the care of the servants. She did teach him to say a simple prayer, however, every day, and she also introduced him to his favorite book, the big family Bible. Left so largely to himself, without playmates of his own age, he early formed a self-reliant character, which largely moulded his entire adult life.

He was an omnivorous reader. Before he was nine he had read Shakespeare, Dryden and Pope, besides numerous tales and romances. Devoted always to music, he could then play on the piano parts of Haydn's symphonies. He could converse in French, and had made good progress in drawing. All this was achieved before he had finished his eighth year.

When he was six his parents sent for him, though he had seen so little of them that they were practically strangers. His mother, however, at once realized his great gifts and his personal beauty, and from that time on she devoted herself unstintedly to his welfare. She was an unusually beautiful young woman, well groomed and popular, and became very proud of her splendid boy.

His uncle John had emigrated to the United States. He wrote to young John Henry's parents such enthusiastic letters describing the opportunities so abundant in the new country, that the decision was made to cross the Atlantic and seek fortune in the New World.

One striking incident marked the long and tedious voyage. Dangerously stormy weather overtook the ship and great anxiety oppressed even the officers and sailors. At the height, a sailor found the little boy of eight, kneeling in prayer behind a pile of sails. Rushing to the Captain the hardy mariner exclaimed that "the ship was safe, for it was impossible that she should be lost with such a little angel on board".

So in August, 1800, they landed in New York, and went at once to Philadelphia. His father went into business, but was not successful.

In fact none of his father's business ventures were profitable or permanent. The boy's parents became unhappy in their home-life and soon separated. His mother opened a girls' school at Trenton, and proved well qualified for its leadership. The school prospered from the start. She also taught her boy, but by the time he was eleven he had absorbed all that she could give him, and he spent the next two years in a boarding school at Bordentown.

This was his first contact with other school-boys. Of course he was teased, and tormented, until one day he grappled with a big bully and gave him a sound thrashing, after which he was safely let alone. The good Baptist minister, who was the principal, gave him a key to his library, so that besides all the Latin and Greek which were in the curriculum, he roamed at will among the poets, the historians, and writers on art and medicine, and even among the novels by Fielding, Smollett, Miss Burney and Anna Radcliffe, as well as "Don Quixote" and "The Arabian Nights", all of which he discovered on the minister's shelves. He did not shun the athletics, such as they were, but his chief joy came from the library.

He was more than usually gifted in music, and early acquired notable skill in technique. He became one of the best violinists in Philadelphia, then a city of over 40,000 population, to which his mother eventually moved, her school having outgrown the patronage of Trenton. He joined the violinists in the best amateur orchestra in Philadelphia, and when need arose he learned in one month also to play the violincello, so that the orchestra, which was well supplied with violins, should have at least one 'cellist. For some years he was the only solo 'cellist in Philadelphia. These years were his later "teens".

His mother's pupils came from the leading families of the city, and his social life was filled with refinement and culture. Though he attended Christ Church, and also old St. Peter's, there was nothing in either parish which especially interested him, and in his earlier life at school in Bordentown, religion occupied but a minor part. No one ever spoke to him personally on the subject while at school. Many of his musical friends in Philadelphia favored a morale which repelled his home-bred taste, and he soon evaded their fellowship except at rehearsals and concerts. No one ever asked him to be confirmed, and he never was confirmed.

Music was not his only artistic interest. His brush and pencil were also skillfully handled. Wilson, the ornithologist, was beginning his "Birds of America" at this time, and on forming the acquaintance of young Hopkins, he engaged the youth at once to color the plates

of his well-known work. So delicate and deft was his touch that he soon became one of the first masters of water-color painting in Philadelphia's artistic circles.

When he was fifteen, two of his mother's wealthiest patrons offered the boy a position in their office, with a view to training him for their business. One year of this, however, convinced him that merchandising would never satisfy him as a life-work.

Greek and Latin were favorite studies during his school days, and this was of great advantage to him later in life when he read so widely in the important study of patristics. His religious education, however, was almost wholly neglected, and from his seventeenth year until his nineteenth, he read many books by the infidel leaders of his day, such as Paine, Volney, Hume, Mirabeau, Voltaire and Rousseau. He thus mastered all of their principal attacks upon the Christian religion. Blessed, nevertheless, with a legal mind, he felt that he had read only one side of the mighty subject, and he, therefore, set out to find what the Christian writers of his day had to say. Bishop Watson's "Answer to Paine", Paley's writings, and Leslie's "Short and Easy Method with the Deists", were recommended to him by a bookseller, and soon convinced him that the balance of probabilities lay heavily with the Christian believers. He digested this course of reading, which was the first systematic outline of Christian Evidences that he had ever seen, and he thus stoutly maintained a Christian faith, crude though it may have been, all through the critical years of his youth and early manhood. Of course at this time he had not the slightest suggestion that he would ever devote his life to the Holy Ministry.

The age of sixteen found him convinced that a commercial life would not satisfy him, so his friends finally urged him to try the Iron Business, as "The Great Embargo" had apparently created a demand for the home production of iron. He accordingly grasped this new scheme with characteristic energy and thoroughness, and the three following years, which he otherwise would gladly have devoted to college life, were spent in studying foundry work, chemistry and kindred subjects with such success that eventually, at the age of twenty-one, he was sent to Bassenheim, near Pittsburgh, at \$1,000 a year, (money had some value in those distant days), to superintend the building and management of a smelting furnace. Two years of hard and disappointing work sufficed to prove this experiment a failure. This was during the War of 1812. Then the wealthiest man in Pittsburgh, who had become the young man's personal friend, offered him a partnership in a similar enterprise at Ligonier valley, near Pitts-



burgh, which was his next business venture. All this time his mother had wished him to study Law, but neither of them could find the money to support him during the long tutelage of study and the difficult period of the start. So it was business which enlisted his energies at this time.

Socially, in Philadelphia, he had enjoyed many opportunities for meeting young people, but none of the girls had enlisted his affections. At this time, however, he met his affinity. Melusina Mueller's family had fled from Germany during the turmoil and confusion generated by the Napoleonic wars, and they finally embarked for America on the last ship that left Hamburg before the great embargo. Their westward flight continued until they reached Harmony, near Pittsburgh, where they soon were discovered by young John Henry Hopkins. The Mueller family had been largely devoted to the Lutheran ministry ever since Martin Luther's time. Melusina was partly French and partly German. She was deeply religious, and highly artistic. The family's love for music will be seen by the unusual fact that they brought with them from their comfortable Hamburg home not only Melusina's harp, but two pianos, and large quantities of music of the best quality. In the log house, which was their first Pennsylvania home at Harmony, they found room for both the pianos and also the big harp, and all the music.

Melusina was gifted with a beautiful soprano voice of high range, which retained its sweetness and power far into her advanced years. These two young people, who had been reared in city surroundings of culture and social privilege, meeting thus in the romance of pioneer life on the frontier, soon effected their engagement, and on the 8th day of May, 1816, in his twenty-fifth year, they were married by a Lutheran minister. One of the guests, named John Loney, whom the Muellers had met in Baltimore, rode all the way from that city on horseback, just for the wedding, returning at once in the same way. Such was the friendliness aroused by these warm-hearted and artistic Germans, in their new surroundings.

The home-life thus started, was eventually blessed by thirteen children. Of these, three daughters and eight sons lived to maturity. All of them married, except John Henry, Jr., the eldest son, and their descendants and connections now living total nearly 150 souls. The "Hopkinsfolk" association has been organized among them for a quarter of a century, and holds an annual dinner in New York City early in May.

The iron business, however, went from bad to worse, and finally, about a year after his marriage, the young iron-master saw his furnace

fail, and the whole enterprise was abandoned. Foreseeing some possibility of this disaster, he had begun to read Law in his spare moments. After the failure of the furnace, he taught school in Pittsburgh for a year or more, as did also his young wife, while he plunged into Law study at every available minute.

In April, 1818, after only a year of this study, carried on while he was at the same time earning money as a teacher, he was admitted to the bar in Pittsburgh, and rapidly rose to the largest law practice in that thriving city of 18,000 people. From the start he took the highest view of his profession, and the public responded promptly. Within four months after opening his office, this young lawyer of twenty-six found his office hours running from 6 A. M. to sunset, and he often worked until two or three in the morning, until warned by his physician that a more moderate pace was absolutely necessary if he would preserve his health.

Since his early conviction that the Christian Religion is true, he had been a church-goer when possible. His chief Pittsburgh friend and patron was a leading Presbyterian, and he naturally attended services with him and his family at first. An apparent accident, which a deeper view might well call Providence, turned his attention to the little struggling Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh. Somehow this tiny congregation of Trinity Church had purchased a small pipe organ, but the rector had searched in vain for a volunteer organist. The young lawyer's musical skill was well known, and he finally decided to devote it to the worship of his God and Saviour. His gifted and religious young wife aided the choir with her beautiful voice, and for five years Trinity's organ gallery was the scene of their avocations. He composed most of the music that was sung. His Hymn-book, now in the family archives, contains more than 200 hymn-tunes, many of them of fine melodic charm. In three months the Prayer-Book had won the allegiance of these very intelligent young people, and they became communicants.

Space limits forbid the itemizing of the various steps by which the brilliant and successful young lawyer was gradually drawn, during these busy years, to accept God's call to the Church's Ministry. The final step was taken when Trinity Church's rectorship fell vacant, and the vestry extended to their lawyer-organist the extraordinary call to become their rector while he was yet a layman.

It was indeed an unusual invitation, from every angle. His practice, the largest in Pittsburgh, was yielding him an income of \$5,000 a year, and was steadily increasing. The vestry offered him \$800. a year, all that they could afford. His family was growing in numbers.

He was not even a candidate for Holy Orders. Yet, backed up by his remarkable and devoted wife, he accepted the call, sold out his practice, and began to serve the parish as a lay-reader. In two months he had read enough to pass his examinations for deacon's orders, and in five more months had qualified for the priesthood. Such were his powers of study that during all the time when he was thus crowding three years' work into eight months, he had taken full charge of his congregation as far as was possible for a layman or a deacon. Trinity was the only live parish of the Church in the western half of Pennsylvania, at the time.

He at once drew plans for a new and much larger church, which would hold one thousand people. Early in his Pittsburgh life an English friend had loaned him Britten's standard work on Gothic architecture, which so fascinated his artistic sense that he copied out for himself all of the diagrams and pictures, knowing that he could not otherwise preserve them for his library. He mastered every page of this large work and thus became, for the nonce, one of the leading authorities on Gothic architecture, not only in Pittsburgh, but in the entire United States. This technical and artistic knowledge served him well all during his life. Many parishes sent to him for plans, year after year, as new churches rose in various dioceses. In his own diocese of Vermont, some of its largest churches were built from his plans, and his finest work, the "Vermont Episcopal Institute" building at Rock Point, near Burlington, was pronounced by Dr. Ralph Adams Cram, in recent years, to be one of the most beautiful instances of Collegiate Gothic in all New England.

The new Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, was soon erected, and was consecrated by Bishop White in 1825. This was the memorable year in which Chief Justice John Marshall, in sending a check to the Bishop of Virginia when solicited by the Bishop for help in re-building a tumble-down colonial Church in that diocese, remarked in the accompanying letter, that he "regarded it as hopeless to attempt to revive anything as dead as the Episcopal Church was at that time in Virginia". That was also the same year in which the young rector of Trinity, Pittsburgh, not only presented to Bishop White a confirmation class of 150 candidates, which raised his parish to be the third largest in Pennsylvania, but in January he rode ninety miles through the slush and snow, on horseback, to Meadville, Pennsylvania, and in twelve days had preached eight times, had baptized 275 souls, 32 being adults, had celebrated the Holy Communion, and thus had started a new parish, which kept its centennial with a whole week's festival in 1925.

He likewise established six other parishes within similar reach of Pittsburgh during his seven years as rector of Trinity Church.

He was promptly sent to the General Conventions of 1826 and 1829, being in his 35th year at the former, and he at once took a leading part in the warm debates which marked those early gatherings of the Church's legislature. Had he been willing to vote for himself,—a practice for which he was assured that there was some precedent already established in certain episcopal elections—there is great probability that he would have been the second Bishop of Pennsylvania. This, of course, he flatly refused even to consider for one instant.

Party spirit ran high in those early days. High and Low controversies were rampant. He soon realized that he must establish a solid basis of Churchmanship. With quick and keen perception he saw and decided that the primitive and undivided Church of the first Christian centuries was probably the best-credentialed exponent of Christ's religion to be found in all history, and for eighteen years he devoted every available hour to the ancient Fathers, Ante-Nicene and Post-Nicene. He read them all so thoroughly, in the original Latin and Greek, that he could make a topical index of all patristic statements on every theme of prime importance. When in Vermont, one of his clergy "verted" to Rome, he set to work, as is stated below, to write a most attractive series of letters to the Roman clergy of his day, showing the vital and profound difference between the Bishop of Rome in patristic times and the modern claims of the Papacy. In the foot-notes of this brilliant book all the items concerning the Bishop of Rome that are to be found in the extant Christian writings of about the first 600 years of Church history are given in the original Latin or Greek, and in the text the author's own translations show how peculiarly misleading are some of the Roman garbling of what the Fathers really wrote. The writer of these lines has recently been assured that this book is today studied in some Roman Theological seminaries in the United States, and the hapless students are compelled to try to find some "answers" to its arguments! Even the most recent specialists have scarcely improved upon this remarkable book, written nearly one hundred years ago in the intense pressure of parochial and diocesan work.

His Pittsburgh parish raised his salary from \$800 to \$1,000, and then to \$1,200. a year, but his rapidly growing family made a larger income necessary. So he started a day-school for both girls and boys. He led the classes in painting and drawing, and composed much of the music taught in the school. During these busy seven years he declined an election to St. Stephen's Church in New York City, and



he would probably have been called later to the rectorship of St. Thomas' Church, New York, had he been willing to state beforehand that he would accept if called. This, of course, he courteously refused to do.

He felt deeply the need of a Church seminary in Pittsburgh. Travel was very costly in time and money in those days, and the Church, if she were to grow in that part of the New West, must train up her own priests. This was firmly impressed upon his convictions, as he saw the widening opportunities, and yet the paucity of clergy.

Since there was no seminary at hand, he began to train candidates himself, to a limited extent, by engaging as his teachers in his school, which proved successful from the outset, young men who had decided to study for Holy Orders. He could thus not only train them, but also provide for their support during their studies. This plan, which he afterwards followed in Burlington, Vermont, as Bishop, at the first "Vermont Episcopal Institute", had of course definite limitations as to numbers, but it was better than nothing. So he was eager for a theological seminary in Pittsburgh, and a lot for a building was offered. The project, however, was too large for the vision of the Pennsylvania Diocesan Convention, and the well-laid plan was not supported.

He was deeply disappointed in this, and finally decided to listen to some of the insistent messages which kept coming to him from the East. Accordingly, in 1831, as his seventh year of rectorship at Trinity drew towards its close, at which time he was called by the Reverend Dr. Doane to be his assistant at Trinity Church, Boston. he gave the call careful consideration. His work in Pittsburgh had been greatly blessed. The new church was completed. Every one of its 1,000 sittings was rented. Only \$1,000 debt remained from the original cost of the building. The congregation was thoroughly devoted to him and to his leadership. The promise of a theological seminary in the Eastern Diocese, however, compared with the apathy concerning his plans for one in Pittsburgh, settled the question, and in 1831, he moved to Boston, then a city of little more than 61,000 population. The uprooting was most painful, but he never flinched when he felt that duty called, either at this critical juncture, or at any other time in his widely varied experience.

He was in his fortieth year, the prime of life. He was an acknowledged leader, an educator, a keen debater, an able executive, a brilliant preacher, with rich avocations in art, music and literature, besides a masterly knowledge of law. While as simple-hearted as a

child, with the highest sense of honor, he could not be imposed upon, and if he found that anyone was trying to "manage" him, he became as immovable as Gibraltar. In churchmanship he was a convinced Catholic. That is not saying that he would meet all the implications of that much-used adjective as they are commonly codified today, for his ritual was, like Dr. Pusey's, of the simpler sort. Neither had Romish catholicism the slightest attraction for him. He was, however, no partisan, and had friends as well as foes in both parties, for in those early days there was, alas! a superabundance of controversy along the Atlantic seaboard. Consequently he was rather difficult to understand, at times, both by "High" and "Low".

His Boston experience was brief and troubled. Added to the usual parochial problems which beset both rector and assistant, especially when the latter is a better preacher than his chief, there were diocesan complications. Bishop Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese was aging, after his many years of tireless work. An episcopal election was at hand. Low Church friends approached the new priest from Pittsburgh to his indignant distress. Dr. Doane, his chief, and also a leader in diocesan politics", became suspicious. Trinity Church, Boston, was called "High Church" in those far off days! The relationship between rector and assistant is at best a delicate one, especially if both men are able, and it is accentuated keenly if there is thought to be a marked difference in churchmanship, as was erroneously but certainly supposed to be the case in this particular instance.

Vermont was a part of the Eastern Diocese, under Bishop Griswold, and was eagerly planning at this very time to establish diocesan independence. Vermont at that time reported 280,652 population. Within a year after the former Pittsburgh rector had arrived in Boston, and had been at work as assistant in Boston's Trinity parish, he was elected Bishop by the first diocesan convention of Vermont. It was held at St. Stephen's Church, Middlebury. The election was close, among the thirteen clergy of the convention. The Rev. Dr. John S. Stone, rector of St. Paul's avowedly Low Church parish, Boston, received six votes, and Trinity's High Church assistant received seven, which constituted a majority, and won for him the election. Of the forty lay delegates, 31 voted with the seven on this first ballot. All of the delegates of course, both clerical and lay, unanimously ratified the election and the Bishop-elect after due consideration, part of which was caused by some more apathy concerning the proposed theological seminary in the Eastern Diocese, resigned his Boston position, and moved with his family, now numbering fifteen souls, to beautiful Vermont.

As is well known, Vermont has suffered, almost from the beginning of her history from the migration of her young people to the West and to the cities. Her population increased rapidly for twenty years after her admission into the new nation, but the pull of Western New York and Ohio reduced these gains from over 60,000 a decade to as low as 18,000 in one early group of ten years. There had been a respite from this drain during the decade just preceding the election of Bishop Hopkins, the increase during that period being about 45,000, though the exodus was doomed to continue. For after 1825 the Erie Canal began its career with such depletion of Vermont that from 1830 to 1840 the State's population had increased only about 11,000, and five counties, being unfortunately those in which our Church had a good membership, actually decreased considerably during those years. This steady and disheartening migration continued all during the thirty-six years of the Bishop's episcopate, and the census taken before his death, namely, that of 1860, showed that the total increase of the whole State during the previous ten years, was only 996 souls.

Many problems arose from these conditions, problems which constantly taxed the enthusiasm and verve not only of the Bishop but of all his earnest clergy and devoted laity. Active parishes would at times be crippled by the loss of fifty per cent of their communicants in a short time, and reduced revenues, impaired working forces and all the affiliated discouragements became a wearing and immovable burden to the diocese as a whole. By 1860 these changes had left but two cities in the State with over 7,000 population. Burlington was the largest with 7,713 inhabitants in 1860. No other State except South Carolina lost so steadily such a large proportion of her native population as did our beautiful Vermont throughout that long period when Horace Greeley's well-known advice, "Go West, Young Man", beckoned her enterprising and promising youth to the newer parts of the growing nation.

The thirteen parishes and missions which elected the Bishop in 1832 offered him a salary of \$500. a year. And he had fifteen souls in his family! This was afterwards raised to \$1,200 a year. He who had surrendered an income of over \$5,000 a year as a lawyer, accepted this salary without complaint, and went to work with all the zeal and determination of his strong and consecrated character.

He was consecrated in St. Paul's Chapel, New York City, on October 31st, All Saints' Eve, 1832, and three other Bishops were consecrated at the same time, namely, those of Ohio, New Jersey and Kentucky. Never, before or since, have four Bishops been consecrated at the same service, in the history of our American Church. The un-

usual event is commemorated by a panel in the bronze doors of Trinity Church, Broadway, New York.

Within three weeks of his consecration, the Bishop, with his large family, began residence at Burlington, where some members or connections of his family have resided ever since. He took charge of St. Paul's Church, Burlington, as rector, from the outset of his episcopate, and retained both positions for many years. He also started a school for boys as soon as possible, and the combined incomes from these three sources enabled him to supply his large family with at least the necessities. His school was successful from the first, and soon enrolled eighty boys, many coming from Canadian families.

The thirty-six years of his episcopate may be divided into four periods. First, five years of prosperity, growth and promise, from his consecration in 1832 to the heart-breaking failure of his school, the first "Vermont Episcopal Institute", caused by the commonly called "Andrew Jackson" panic, (really the John C. Calhoun panic), in 1837. It is said that more than half of the property in the United States changed hands during that acute depression. One of the three handsome buildings erected for this flourishing school is still standing, and is used for a Home for the Aged.

The second period is that of the long struggle of recovery from this undeserved and unpreventable financial failure. This stretched its drab and trying tests over seventeen long years of poverty, from 1837 to 1854. In modern times it is not unlikely that bankruptcy protection would have been selected by many, and some kind of "reorganization" would have thrown the burden upon others, but this was not the kind of procedure to appeal to Bishop Hopkins and his family. They shouldered the large debts, for which they were not responsible, and every penny was eventually paid, though at times the ordeal seemed almost too much for even their intrepid spirits. Early in this weary period, Rock Point, a tract of 100 acres of wild land near Burlington, jutting into Lake Champlain, was acquired, partly cleared from tree and stumps, and opened into a farm. His home was built, he drawing the plans and his stalwart sons doing most if not all of the work with their own hands, walking the two miles or more to and from their temporary home in Burlington at the beginning and end of each day, and the farm-life of "plain living and high thinking" was begun.

Rock Point is one of the most romantically beautiful features of Lake Champlain, and geologically is one of the notable sights of the Champlain valley. It was finally deeded by the Bishop and his family to the Diocese of Vermont, and few dioceses in the entire Church, if any, own such a superb and fascinating diocesan center today. It has



been estimated as worth many hundreds of thousands of dollars simply as real estate. In this home Bishop Hopkins lived until his death.

The old house was replaced by a more modern episcopal residence during the episcopate of Bishop Hall.

Several years after this home in the woods had been built, there occurred one of the most humiliating experiences of the Bishop's life. He was then sixty-two, and had arrived at the age when many men begin to think of retirement and rest. He was invited to Boston, for a series of important lectures, and while there, one of his former Burlington creditors, whose original debt of \$8,500 had been punctually paid, in principal and interest, until only \$1,000 remained, took advantage of the Massachusetts law (which was repealed the next year), to have the Bishop arrested for debt. Two kind friends furnished bail, so the generous creditor did not succeed in imprisoning the Bishop, but he did succeed in arousing him to a wonderful resilience, after the first sting of the blow had been partly assuaged.

"What can I do to raise a thousand dollars"? This question gripped this remarkable man of sixty-two, until he found the answer. "I will build a school at Rock Point. I will draw the plans myself. I will quarry the stone on Rock Point. I will raise \$60,000. I will start another Vermont Episcopal Institute. I will succeed. I will get my son Theodore to take charge of the school. I will pay off that debt." All of this he did, as has been said. Dr. Ralph Adams Cram has pronounced this school building one of the most beautiful examples of Collegiate Gothic to be found even now in all New England.

Space forbids further description of this large and splendid undertaking, but in 1860, six years after the Boston arrest, the school was opened. It had a fine career for nearly forty years, the first twenty-two being the period of his son's principalship. One thousand boys were fortunate enough to enter this unusual school during those years. They came from all parts of the United States. One came from the White House.

This splendid achievement, in his 68th year, may be said to have closed the third period of Bishop Hopkins' episcopate. The long struggle with almost hopeless poverty was finished. The clouds had begun to roll away.

The fourth and final period of this remarkable career was less than eight years long, but it was as brilliant as it was brief. It included the terrible stress of the Civil War, which tremendous event gave him a superb opportunity for real statesmanship. He grasped this with all his ability and vision. He became Presiding Bishop of the Church in January, 1865, and in October of that year the General Convention met

in Philadelphia. He was president of the House of Bishops also at the preceding General Convention, held in New York City during the War. From the opening of hostilities, he promptly took the position, supported as he was by his large knowledge of Church history, that it was not necessary to split the Church. The gaping wounds of schism, which ripped asunder the Methodists, Baptists and other Protestant denominations into "North" and "South" divisions, were to his mind abhorrent and wrong. He had the names of all the Southern Bishops called at every vote taken in the upper house during the General Convention of both 1862 and 1865, and in this position he was ably seconded by his eldest son, John Henry, Junior, who was then editing "The Church Journal". There was fierce opposition, especially by people in Philadelphia, but to this no attention was paid. And when the War was ended, the Church welcomed the Southern Bishops and Deputies to their accustomed seats in the General Convention, and the past was buried in re-union.

It was Bishop Hopkins who first suggested to the Archbishop of Canterbury the holding of what became the Lambeth Conference. This unusual and statesmanlike suggestion was made as far back as 1851. The Primus of the Scottish Church, soon after the first Lambeth Conference of 1867, stated to his Synod that the idea of holding such a meeting of Bishops originated with the American Bishop of Vermont. Of course he attended this notable gathering, being then our Presiding Bishop, and he took a prominent part in all its deliberations and debates. He brought Dean Stanley of Westminster Abbey to book, with a crushing rebuke, founded on ecclesiastical history, for the Dean's action in refusing to allow the Lambeth Conference to hold its closing service in the Abbey. The "Colenso Controversy" now forgotten was the point at issue. The Dean's apology was lame but it was practically given as the sequel. A pause here may be in order, to recapitulate briefly some of the leading features of Bishop Hopkins' work for the Church, throughout his long episcopate.

His knowledge and unusual skill in law enabled him to be of special service in forming and widening the constitution and canons as enacted by General Convention. His thorough knowledge of patristics, from the original sources, based his leadership in such matters on the solid foundations of history. He was the twenty-sixth Bishop in the American succession and none of his contemporaries had so deeply digested the writings of the ancient Fathers of Catholic authority.

He wrote some fifty books and pamphlets which were published, besides many contributions to the current press, and large numbers of written sermons. From 1820, when at the age of twenty-eight, he began

this long list with the publication of "An Address before the Young Men's Auxiliary Bible Society" in Pittsburgh, until 1867, when he published his poem, 256 pages in length, called "The History of the Church in Verse", there was scarcely a year in which he did not publish from one to six books or pamphlets on subjects connected with the Church. He was a powerful controversialist, never descending from a high ideal of courtesy, and lavishly supporting his arguments with authoritative references. He completely mastered the Roman question, and the several books which dealt with this large subject ran through two and three editions. His "Law of Ritualism", written the year before his death, had four editions, while his remarkable treatise on the Bible's View of Slavery, written with a running pen in 1864, reached 20,000 copies, in seven editions.

This sensational work was evoked by a bitter attack upon him during the War signed by the then Bishop of Pennsylvania and 163 other clergy of Pennsylvania, in which he was called "wicked", and his views were called "unworthy of any servant of Jesus Christ". His dignified and courageous "come back" was an overwhelming citation of Holy Scripture, and of over one hundred historical authorities, ranging from St. Paul to Theodore Parker. It was never answered, except by "taking up stones to cast at him", and while it undoubtedly increased his popularity in the South, it made for him many influential enemies in his diocese, in Philadelphia and throughout the North. Of course he had no ulterior motive in writing it. It was simply a summary of his convictions, and he mightily defended them in 376 pages of astonishing learning. Nothing that he ever wrote brought upon him such abuse, or showed more startlingly the surprising range of his scholarship. It is more than likely that his great influence in preventing the Southern schism after the War Between the States was due to his brave avowal of the views defended in these forty-eight "Letters" to the Bishop of Pennsylvania.

One of his favorite methods in controversy was to use the form of "Letters" to his adversary, instead of the conventional "Chapters". He adopted this method in his masterly book already mentioned, showing the differences between the Bishop of Rome in primitive ages and in modern times. Each chapter was a friendly "letter" addressed to the Roman clergy of his own day, piling Ossa on Pelion in a mass of patristic quotations that completely smother the Roman position.

In the celebrated legal troubles which agitated the Church by the Onderdonk and Doane trials his large abilities as a lawyer came to the front, and were of signal service.

In the serious controversies centering around the Oxford Move-

ment, his deep knowledge of Church history placed him in general agreement with the Tracts. In fact he had begun his thorough study of the Fathers some years before Keble's famous sermon. When, however, he differed from some of the Tracts, he did not hesitate to say so, and to say why. It is barely possible that his profound antagonism towards Romanism may have affected his opinions concerning the ultimate influence of some Tractarian positions. Newman's secession of course troubled him not a little. He was beset by many who sought to enlist him squarely against the Oxford teachings, but to this he would not agree. The Roman Bishop Kenrick invited the Churchmen who favored the Oxford Tracts to "come back to Rome, where they belong". Bishop Hopkins wrote to him two public "letters", which created a real sensation. He then published his "Lectures on the British Reformation", in sixteen chapters. He countered a rather flamboyant manifesto by a Roman named Milner, entitled "The End of Controversy", by writing two volumes entitled "The End of Controversy Controverted". This was in 1854. The first volume had 468 pages and the second had 398, and the work ran through three editions. He wrote a "History of the Confessional", which was erudite, but not sympathetic. Of course he agreed that optional confession is lawful in the Church, but his basic fear and distrust of Rome tinged some of his views and modified his judgment. He went through no less than forty volumes of the Fathers, in writing this book. His book of 459 pages, published in 1857 on "The American Citizen", achieved three editions and would be a fine campaign document today.

Towards the close of his life he gradually came to the conviction that the Prayer Book of 1549 was "the purest and truest expression of the real mind of the English Reformation", to quote his biographer.

His most ambitious work was never finished. It was nothing less than a commentary on the entire Bible. He began this in late September, in 1848, and by the end of the following February he had written over 400 pages of manuscript, reaching the book of Joshua. He never had the time to do any more work on this very large undertaking. He often stood at his desk for thirteen hours a day, while writing these 400 pages.

After the failure of his first school for boys, in the thirties, he went to England, trying to raise money for the re-opening of the school. In this he did not succeed, for Bishop Chase, who did likewise, had a much more vivid appeal for his schools in the wilds of Ohio, and Vermont's needs were not so eloquent. On this trip Bishop Hopkins met Dr. Pusey and Newman, Wilberforce, and other leaders of the Church.



Some of them gave him subscriptions, but none were large. The only other trip he made abroad was to the first Lambeth Conference.

This unceasing mass of work connected with the larger interests of the Church and involving long hours of absorbing labor in his library aided him greatly in his equally devoted labors throughout his diocese. These were not always stimulating, for there were constant discouragements caused by the persistent westward emigration which has been noticed above. He never complained of the smallness of his diocese, or of the inadequate salary of \$1,200 a year which was steadily maintained at that figure for many years. His large and gifted family cheerfully accepted the biting poverty which lasted for fully seventeen years after the Jackson panic, and the marked successes which his able sons achieved in their varied lives were due in no small measure to the severe training and discipline of those stringent years. The quiet home at Rock Point was filled with music, adorned with pictures, replete with literary ideals, crowded with books, and was indeed a notable instance of "plain living and high thinking".

The Bishop and his accomplished wife reached their golden wedding in 1866, and the event was fittingly celebrated by the numerous groups of children and grandchildren at the Rock Point residence, with great enthusiasm.

On his return from Lambeth, despite the wintry weather, he was determined to make a visitation of his diocese. His friends and family were unable to persuade him to wait until the spring, and early in December he began. He even took appointments in the neighboring diocese of Albany, and his final celebration of Holy Communion, with sermon and Confirmation, took place in Trinity Church, Plattsburgh, New York. The long and tedious journey to his home on the other side of Lake Champlain subjected him to heated railroad cars as well as to open sleigh rides in bitter cold, and the resultant pneumonia laid him low on January 9th, 1868. He breathed his last in the arms of his son Theodore.

Five Bishops and fifty other clergy hastily assembled in St. Paul's Church, Burlington, for the burial. From Montreal, where he was much beloved, to the uttermost parts of our own national Church, churches were draped in mourning. Not since Bishop White's long episcopate had any Presiding Bishop taken such hold on the affections of the Church, far and near. His earthly remains were interred in the family cemetery near his home at Rock Point, where a beautiful marble Celtic Cross designed by his first-born son, marks his tomb.

So passed to his reward one of the great pioneer Bishops of the American Church, a man of unusual endowments and tireless energy;

an artist with brush and pencil, a composer of melodious music; a 'cellist and violinist and organist; an architect; an author of fifty books and pamphlets; a scholar and historian, a poet; an authority on patristics noted in his day and quoted today; an eloquent preacher; a statesman-like Presiding Bishop; a brilliant and successful lawyer; an educator; an honored and beloved patriarch in his large family; a simple-hearted, unquestioning Christian in his own spiritual life, fearless in his convictions, loyal at all times to the highest ideals of Churchmanship and Christian discipleship. Requiescat in pace!

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# COMPLETE LIST OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF BISHOP HOPKINS.

*(Titles of bound volumes are printed in capitals.)*

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## THE CHURCH IN KANSAS

*By William H. Haupt*

### I.

AT the General Convention of 1835, Jackson Kemper was chosen Missionary Bishop of the Northwest. He was consecrated by Bishops White, Channing Moore, Philander Chase, both the Onderdonks, Benjamin Bosworth Smith and George Washington Doane. This was the twenty-seventh and the last consecration in which the patriarchal White took part.

In 1837 Colonel Stephen W. Kearney, stationed at Fort Leavenworth, asked Bishop Kemper to secure a chaplain for the post. In response to this request he made a trip of investigation. The Bishop's account of the trip is so vivid, and expressive of his bouyant spirit that it is well to quote from it. "I have now experienced a little western adventure, and really entered into it with much more spirit and enjoyment than I could have imagined. . . . Shall I tell you how we were benighted and how we lost our way, of the deep creeks we forded and the bad bridges we crossed, how we were drenched to the skin, and how we waded for half an hour in a slough, and the accidents from the stumbling of our horse? But these events were matters of course. We had daily cause for thankfulness and praise. . . . What proof of the sluggishness of our movements is the fact that, so far as I can learn I am the first clergyman of our Church who has preached at Columbia, Boonville, Fayette, Richmond, Lexington, Independence and Fort Leavenworth,—in a word, I have been the pioneer from St. Charles up the Missouri." And thus he trod for the first time that portion of the vast tract then vaguely known as the Indian Territory which in after days was to take the name from the tribe of Kansas Indians.<sup>1</sup>

This was in the late autumn of 1837. The Bishop nominated the Rev. Henry Gregory a missionary among the Menomonee Indians on Green Bay, to the Board of Missions and he was appointed missionary at Fort Leavenworth in March, 1838. The records of the War Department show that "He left his home in New York State on November 1, 1838, for Fort Leavenworth, where he arrived about December 17, 1838.

<sup>1</sup>*White, Apostle of the Western Church, p. 89.*

On the last named date he was chosen by the Council of Administration at that post as chaplain and his compensation fixed at \$40 per month."

The next clergyman of whom we have any record was the Rev. David Clarkson of the Diocese of New Jersey, who was appointed chaplain at Fort Scott, March 19, 1850, which position he held till 1853 when he was transferred to Fort Riley. He seems not to have made a report to his Bishop every year, but the Journals of his diocese show the following:

1852. Officiated every Sunday except three when I was prevented by illness, and taught school during the week. Baptisms, 1 infant; marriages, 3; funerals, 6.

1853. Baptisms, adult 1, infants 3; funerals, 6; marriages, 2.

1854. Fort Riley, Nebraska, Baptisms, 8 infants.

1856. He reports from Fort Riley:

"Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir:

"Since my return to this Garrison, on the 15th of May last I have had: Baptisms, infants, 3; marriages 3; funerals, 66. Out of the 66 funerals, 57 took place from the 24th of July to the 12th of August, when the cholera prevailed at the Fort.

1858. "In addition to my regular Sunday services at the Garrison, I have officiated once in Manhattan, ten miles from here, where I administered the Holy Communion to a sick young lady and three other members of the Church, in private. In three days after I was sent for to commit her body to the silent grave; her spirit having triumphantly winged its way to the paradise of God. I have also a daily school, five mornings in the week. I have baptized 14 children, married five couples, buried seven adults; communicants 8."

In 1854 the Rev. W. N. Irish, a missionary of the Board at St. Joseph, Missouri, visited Fort Leavenworth, and finding some Church people, organized a parish under the name of "Centurion Church". This was the first religious society formed in the new Territory of Kansas. The Domestic Committee of the General Board of Missions hearing this news, and also of the rapid growth of that section of the country, and anxious to provide for the spiritual welfare of the Church's children, soon afterwards established a mission at "Fort Leavenworth and parts adjacent" and on September 19, 1854, appointed the Rev. John McNamara as its missionary to look after the work. He remained there until the following year, resigning November 1, 1855. Bishop Kemper, in his report, 1855, said: "The Rev. John McNamara has been for some time in Kansas, but owing to the great political excitement which

yet prevails in that Territory, has accomplished but little in building up the Church. I have been ready more than once to start for that country, through parts of which I passed in 1838, but it has been deemed expedient to postpone my contemplated visit until quietness prevails. I observed by the papers that the Rev. David Clarkson of New Jersey, is chaplain at Fort Riley, and is endeavoring to establish a church at Pawnee City. May his efforts be crowned with success."

The first Governor of Kansas Territory and several Army officers had located the capital at Pawnee, but the legislature turned it down, so nothing remains but a stone ruin, labeled "First Capitol of Kansas". The Rev. John McNamara tells a very pathetic tale in his book "*Three Years on the Kansas Border*". He was a staunch anti-slavery man, who believed it his duty to preach against the traffic. On the boat up the Missouri there were heated discussions of this subject, and Mr. McNamara got into a discussion with the commandant of the garrison at Fort Leavenworth, with the result that he was forbidden to come to the post. Before reaching Lexington his little child died and he had to stop over and have a coffin made. With the body of his child he returned to his old charge at Weston, Mo., but found himself among strangers. He buried his child in the Weston cemetery, and as he could not find a house on the Kansas side he took up his residence in Weston and crossed the river each week to hold services. His first services were at Kickapoo, north of what is now Leavenworth, and not far from the Fort. He preached the first sermon to the whites at this place, in the old log house called the Roman Catholic Mission of the Kickapoo Indians. He tells us: "Two weeks later Rev. N. T. Shaler of the M. E. Church, South, who was 'sound on the goose' (meaning pro-slavery) came at the same time and place and the 'Self Defensives' gave him the place." Whereupon, Mr. McNamara secured a lot and a Doctor . . . secured \$350 for a church, but the Doctor would not turn it over to the missionary, and used it for his own purposes.

Because of his attitude on the slavery question he was refused room and board at the only hotel in Leavenworth and also at Kickapoo. "To render my situation more desperate a letter from a brother clergyman enclosing me \$63 was robbed, my remittance cheque for a half year's salary from the 'Committee of the Church Missionary Society' was abstracted." . . . "The Garrison chapel was closed to me and Chaplain Kerr would insult me by asking if the Rev. W. N. Irish of St. Joseph could not be procured to preach to the Church people at the Fort."

"At Kickapoo City I was the first preacher. This made the Methodists jealous—'An Episcopal clergyman the first among the bushes. This would never do.' The old missionary, and a New Yorker, too, at

last went around to inquire where he could purchase a 'nigger'. So the question between the preachers to gain the affections of the people and occupy the log house on Sundays was 'nigger or no nigger'. I was 'no nigger' and I became 'no preach'—'no song, no supper'.

"Something had to be done. I did not wish to leave the Territory. Early in March, 1855, I determined to go out on the prairie, erect me a log hut like my neighbors and preach to those who might feel disposed to hear, in the open air during the coming season. Never after that did I attempt to preach at Kickapoo or at Leavenworth."

His story of a few months on the prairie is pathetic. His wife had given birth to a second child. For lack of proper food and medical care it died. He was compelled to give up and leave. He afterwards went to Nebraska, and died at North Platt, October, 1885, at the age of 64. *The Living Church* said of him: "He was one of the best known clergymen in the west, the greater part of his life having been spent in missionary work in Illinois, Kansas, Wisconsin, and Nebraska." And the Rev. A. Beatty, in the *Kansas Churchman*, added: "Dr. McNamara was the first Missionary in the Territory of Kansas from the General Board, under the administration of Bishop Kemper. His was a lovely character. He was a protege of the Rev. Dr. Muhlenburg, and for years worked under that remarkable saint of God."

As a part of this introductory chapter it may be well to acknowledge the debt the Diocese of Kansas owes to the Missionary Societies. Bishop Vail, in the *Kansas Churchman*, for 1879, said: "The old Philadelphia Society for Missions in the West sent out its missionaries and for several years supported them, starting the parishes in Wyandotte, in Lawrence, in Topeka, in Atchison. The Mission in Leavenworth, the first of all in the Territory, was sustained by the Domestic Committee. When the Philadelphia Society was disbanded, their Missions passed into the charge of the American Church Missionary Society, then just organized. . . . At the last General Convention this society became auxiliary to the General Board of Missions." The Bishop acknowledges the receipt from the General Board to that date of \$40,000 and for the preceding year from the General Board \$2,000, and from the American Church Missionary Society \$1,000.

The gaze of the whole country was turned upon Kansas; the bill, passed by Congress in 1854, to organize it and Nebraska into territories threw them both into the arena to be scrambled for by freesoil and slavery partisans; and the following year saw a prelude to the Civil War upon the prairies of Kansas.

The winter of 1855-56 was very severe, and the sufferings of destitute settlers, in that time of border warfare, beggar description. From



both territories came appeals that winter for the ministrations of missionaries of the Church; and the cry of bleeding Kansas wrung the heart of a noble clergyman of Connecticut, the Rev. Hiram Stone. As soon as his resolution to exchange his pleasant parish at Essex for the toils of a missionary in the agitated territory became known, he was accepted by the Missionary Bishop. St. Paul's Parish, New Haven, volunteered to provide his support. So great was the confusion and so hot the strife upon the border, that Bishop Kemper directed him to remain awhile in Wisconsin, until he himself could reconnoiter. In July, 1856, the Bishop set forth, was joined by Bishop Henry W. Lee at Des Moines, and together they traveled to Council Bluffs; crossed the Missouri River and trod for the first time the soil of Nebraska. Omaha was then a canvas city; it had not reached its second anniversary, yet it numbered over a thousand souls who found shelter in booths and tents. The first service of the Church there, conducted by both the Bishops, was attended by a throng of people; Bishop Lee preached, and afterwards Bishop Kemper administered the Holy Communion to six persons. He then moved south, visiting Bellevue and Florence, where as well as at Nebraska City, he secured lots for church building, and entered Kansas which he had not seen for eighteen years. He preached at Doniphan and Fort Leavenworth, and at the latter post confirmed an officer and administered the Holy Eucharist. He held services at the neighboring Leavenworth city, and at Leecompton (then the territorial capital) baptized an infant. At Atchison he secured two lots for the church. Besides these points, he visited Palmetto, Topeka, Brownsville, Lawrence (where there were as yet no Church people to be found), and Council City, where he read both morning and evening prayer, preaching at both services, and confirming, in a log cabin; where he did not administer the Holy Communion because no wine could be found. Besides these public and official duties of holding services, preaching, and administering the sacraments, which he punctually performed whenever opportunity offered, the Bishop was also often able to appear in the beautiful character, so congenial to him, of a missionary pastor, consoling the bereaved, visiting the sick and dying, and burying the dead.

Wherever he went he scrupulously avoided all reference to the surrounding civil strife; and this course won much popular approval.

The summer was intensely hot, and through lack of fresh and wholesome food the Bishop contracted a prevalent complaint known as "land scurvy". It was the first serious breach in his health; he was nearly sixty-seven years of age, and was never afterward quite as well and strong as before; but that tour was the laying of the cornerstone of the Diocese of Kansas.

Upon his return to Wisconsin, he directed Mr. Stone to make Leavenworth his headquarters, and itinerate thence.

From "The Memoirs of the Rev. Hiram Stone", Manuscript in the State Historical Library, Topeka, we select the following items:

"On Nov. 10th I took passage for Kansas, arriving at Ft. Leavenworth Nov. 24th. A few days later, Dec. 10th, I effected an organization at Leavenworth city under the name of St. Paul's Church. This was the first permanent Episcopal organization in Kansas and was appropriately so named in recognition of the generous support guaranteed by St. Paul's Church, New Haven. Measures were immediately taken for the erection of a church edifice, but efforts were delayed for reasons which will appear later.

"At this juncture strange complications began which seriously effected the Church interests in Kansas, putting a new and anomalous phase upon all missionary operations. Bishop Kemper had jurisdiction over the territory of the Northwest by an appointment of the General Convention of 1835. Because of the rapid filling up of that great region, it was deemed expedient to separate a portion of this into a new Missionary Jurisdiction to be placed under the oversight of a Bishop. Accordingly the General Convention held in the city of New York in October, 1856, set apart the territories of Kansas and Nebraska as a new division of the great missionary field and attempted to provide it with a Bishop. The provision failed by the declination of the Rev. Jacob L. Clark, D. D., who had been elected to that position. This left the newly made jurisdiction without an Episcopal head." . . . "The Presiding Bishop, Thomas C. Brownell, recommended to Bishops Kemper and Lee of Iowa that they should give Episcopal oversight to Kansas and Nebraska, respectively, their expenses to be defrayed by the Board of Missions. In accordance with this understanding, our hero again visited his appointed field in the spring of 1857, and on the 11th of May had the pleasure of laying the cornerstone of a church at Leavenworth. . . . He was much enfeebled by the hardships of the tour."

Bishop Kemper, having been released from his vast jurisdiction by the election of bishops in the states of Missouri, Indiana and Iowa, in the fall of 1858 again visited Kansas, but owing to the conditions of the weather and roads he was not able to accomplish much. The "Party spirit" had developed in the church at large and resulted in the forming of the "Philadelphia Association" as a distinct missionary organization. It had become the settled purpose of this society to organize Kansas into a diocese and supply it with clergy suited to its own stripe of Churchmanship. Hence, some half dozen missionaries were selected and supported wholly by this association.

The Rev. N. O. Preston, in the *Kansas Annual Register*, says :

“Rev. C. M. Callaway was sent by a Missionary Society of Philadelphia in 1856-57 on a church exploring expedition. His report that the field was already white for the harvest induced the Missionary Committee to employ several missionaries to labor in Kansas. Mr. Callaway returned and located in Topeka. The Rev. L. R. Staudenmayer organized the ‘Church of St. Mary Magdalen at Atchison in 1857; the Rev. W. K. Ellis at Lecompton and the Rev. J. R. Drummond coming in 1857 and the latter being a very active and self-sacrificing general missionary originating parishes at Olathe, Paola, Shawnee, and Spring Hill, besides holding services in seventy other places.

The Rev. Charles Reynolds came with his family to Lawrence in 1857, organized Trinity Parish and with funds obtained in the east built Trinity Church and parsonage. The Rev. R. S. Nash came to Wyandotte in 1857 and with money collected in the east erected a beautiful church and substantial rectory. The Rev. N. O. Preston came in May, 1858, and located in Manhattan, found three communicants, labored two years and eight months and with funds collected mainly in New Orleans and Philadelphia, succeeded in erecting a gothic stone church. Rev. J. E. Ryan came in the spring of 1858, located at Elwood and preached at Troy.”

In the summer of 1859 Bishop Kemper made another tour of Kansas, visiting every parish and mission. At Leavenworth he held an ordination, at Wyandotte consecrated a church, and at Lawrence, Lecompton, Manhattan, preached, confirmed, and administered the Holy Communion. He visited Topeka, Junction City, Fort Riley, Ossawatimie, Paola, Olathe and other places, preaching in all. There were nine clergymen in the territory, including the chaplains at the forts, and at the request of the majority he convoked and presided at an assembly that proved to be the primary convention of the diocese. It met at Wyandotte in August, and in spite of the Bishop’s dissuasion (he thought the step premature and his forecast proved correct), formed a diocesan organization and applied for admission to the General Convention.

The wording of this call was: “The clergy of the P. E. Church residing in the Territory of Kansas, are hereby requested to convene at Wyandotte on the 11th of August next, at 6 o’clock p. m. to take into consideration the propriety of organizing a diocese.

“And I request that each Parish now in existence send one or two delegates to said meeting, to unite with the clergy in considering the subjects above stated—to deliberate with them upon any other matters of interest to the Church, and to take such action as may be deemed necessary.”

JACKSON KEMPER,

Leavenworth City, July 26.

Missionary Bishop.

Hiram Stone remarks on this:

"Here is a fact to be distinctly noted. The General Convention was to meet at Richmond, Va., the following October. At that time as was generally well understood a Missionary Bishop was to be provided for the Northwest and Kansas would be taken under his oversight. But in order to forestall this measure, the partisan clergy determined to organize Kansas into a diocese and so take it out of the hands of the Convention. The Convention assembled and a diocesan organization was effected by a vote of the clergy and laity, Yeas 14, Nays 6."

The clergy present at this Convention were:

The Right Rev. Jackson Kemper, D. D., LL. D.

The Rev. C. M. Callaway, Rector of Grace Church, Topeka.

The Rev. J. H. Drummond, Missionary.

The Rev. W. K. Ellis, Rector of St. Luke's Church, Lecompton.

The Rev. R. S. Nash, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte.

The Rev. N. O. Preston, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Manhattan.

The Rev. Charles Reynolds, Rector of Trinity Church, Lawrence.

The Rev. J. E. Ryan, Rector of St. Mark's Church, Elwood.

The Rev. L. R. Staudenmayer, Rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Atchison.

The Rev. Hiram Stone, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth.

The Lay Delegates were:

Trinity Church, Lawrence, Wm. H. Hickcox, Lyman Eldridge, O. A. Bassett and Samuel Reynolds.

St. Paul's, Manhattan, Ambrose Todd.

Christ Church, Prairie City, Wm. Graham, M. D., H. J. Caniff, M. D., and Wm. B. Hayden.

St. John's Church, Tecumseh, Judge Elmore and Thomas N. Stinson.

Grace Church, Topeka, Geo. M. Meade.

St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte, Frederick Speck, M. D.

St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth City, J. M. Fackler, M. D., and J. M. Bodine, M. D.

Emmanuel Church, Olathe, E. S. Nash.

Naturally, we ask how was this vote taken? Jointly it would seem from the record of the Convention. But why only 20 votes cast? There were 9 clergy and 15 laity present, or 24 votes. If the parishes voted as units there would be 9 and 8 or 17 votes.

Of these clergy we find a year later at the first annual Convention only four entitled to seats in the Convention. Three are denied this by virtue of not having transferred to this Jurisdiction, while two have



removed. For these and some other reasons Mr. Stone protested the organization as "irregular, uncanonical, unnecessary and partisan." He goes on to tell how he was informed that as Leavenworth was the chief city in Kansas his parish must be given to the future bishop as one source of his support; that in the presence of two of his wardens he was told that he was standing in the way of the good of the Church and that he further its interests by resigning that the Bishop might occupy his place. "It has been frequently repeated within my parish and outside of it that a Bishop is to be elected who may become rector of Leavenworth City, who will bring with him great influence and large amounts of money by which a flourishing parish may be built up here, all of which will be secured to this city if the people will make a way for him to come. I have suffered enough on this score, and am determined on leaving the parish of my creation and affection. Though appointed by the Preliminary Convention of Kansas as a deputy to the General Convention I shall not attend, as I deem the whole action of the Kansas Convention illegal, unauthorized and partisan, and hence will not lend my countenance to its proceedings."

On Monday, Sept. 26th, he was unanimously elected chaplain of Fort Leavenworth. October 24th, he tendered his resignation as rector of St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth, as his election as post chaplain had been approved at Washington.

"On entering upon the duties of missionary at Leavenworth city I found only three families, and the same number of communicants. At my resignation there were upon the parish register 43 communicants and about an equal number of families. Eleven persons had been confirmed, 34 baptisms had been solemnized and there was a Sunday School of about 30 children."

He tells us that the deputies to the General Convention informed Bishop Kemper that they would not need his services any more, although the Kansas convention had petitioned the House of Bishops "to make arrangements by which the Diocese of Kansas can still for a time at least have the episcopal services of the Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, D. D., LL. D."

The deputies to the General Convention were:

Rev. Messrs. Charles Reynolds, Preston, Stone, Callaway. Messrs. J. M. Fackler, Bodine, Graham, Doctors of Medicine, and Ambrose, Todd, Esq.

The Rev. Mr. Stone tells us that Rev. N. O. Preston was of the same opinion with himself in the above matters, and voted with him in later questions. So were Messrs. Bodine and Todd.

Upon the return of the deputies from General Convention a call was sent out for a meeting of the Standing Committee. They met in response to this call December 13th at Trinity Church, Lawrence. On the resolution: "That it is expedient that the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Kansas call a special convention for the purpose of electing a Bishop," the vote stood two against two and the question was decided by the casting of the vote of the President. The convention was called to meet at Topeka on April 11th, 1860.

Before leaving this chapter it will be well to note that the General Board of Missions paid out for Kansas the following sums:

1854	To the Rev. John McNamara.....	\$ 250.00
1855	To the Rev. John McNamara .....	250.00
1856	To Rev. Hiram Stone .....	504.17
1857	To Messrs. Stone, Nash and Callaway.....	1,511.70
1858	To Rev. Messrs. Stone, Ellis, Nash, Preston and Callaway .....	4,061.50
1859	To Rev. Messrs. Stone, Ellis, Ryan, Nash, Callaway, Reynolds and Preston .....	6,240.02
1860	For Rev. Messrs. Ryan, Nash, Reynolds, and Preston still serving in Kansas, the Board paid that year the sum of.....	5,448.00
Total . . . . .		<u>\$18,265.39</u>

The Primary Convention recognized the female seminary established by Mr. Callaway at Tecumseh as a Church institution of the Diocese, and commended the parochial male school at Prairie City as worthy the support of the public.

The Rev. J. H. Drummond presented a petition from St. Marysville for a diocesan school for boys, offering to donate 40 acres of land and not less than \$1,000.00 cash. Rev. C. M. Callaway moved to refer it to a committee, and it was never reported on again. The school at Prairie City which was ten miles north of Ottawa was in the next annual convention recognized as a Diocesan School for Boys.

No journal of this Convention was published but the secretary sent a report of it to the *Episcopal Recorder* and later a copy of this report was ordered printed and incorporated in the files of journals. From this we learn that the Convention met in Grace Church, Topeka, April 11, 1860, at 3 p. m. Rev. Charles Reynolds offered prayers and Rev. N.

O. Preston preached the convention sermon from 2 Cor. iv. 7. After the service, the Convention was called to order by Rev. J. E. Ryan, the Secretary. The roll being called, the following clergy answered to their names: Rev. Messrs. C. M. Callaway, M. Clarkson, J. M. Drummond, M. Henderson, R. S. Nash, N. O. Preston, Charles Reynolds, and J. E. Ryan.

The Rev. R. S. Nash was elected President.

The following Parishes and their accredited delegates were admitted to seat and vote:

Atchison: A. Arnold, M. D.

Junction City: David A. Butterfield, Major J. G. Martin.

Lawrence: Wm. H. Hickcox, James Horton, A. D. M. Ricker.

Leavenworth: Alex. F. Maison, Ethan Earl.

Lecompton: Dr. J. M. Pelot.

Manhattan: John E. Perchord.

Prairie City: Dr. Wm. Graham, Wm. B. Hayden.

Topeka: C. R. Holliday, C. C. Kellam, H. C. Hawkins.

On motion of Rev. C. M. Callaway the clergy proceeded to vote for a Bishop. There being 8 present, 5 constituted a majority.

The first ballot stood:

Rev. Mr. Whittle of Louisville, Ky.....	3
Rev. Mr. Schenck of Baltimore .....	1
Rev. Dr. Clazton of Rochester .....	1
Rev. Dr. Peet of Des Moines .....	2
Rev. Dr. Dyer of New York.....	1

The fourth ballot stood: Whittle 4, Peet 2, Dyer 2.

On motion of Rev. Chas. Reynolds the Convention took a ten minutes recess. After reassembling the fifth ballot was taken and resulted Rev. Mr. Whittle 6, Dr. Dyer 2.

The laity rejected this choice of the clergy by a vote of 4 against 2. This was due to the fact that it became known that the Rev. Mr. Whittle was a pro-slavery man. He afterwards became the Bishop of Virginia.

The clergy again proceeded to vote and after seven ballots elected the Rev. Dr. Dyer by a vote of six to four. The laity concurred by a vote of 5 for, 2 against, and 1 blank.

The Rev. Hiram Stone not only refused to participate in this convention, but tells us that on the 9th of April he with a minority of

the members of the Standing Committee, made a protest against the contemplated proceedings of the Convention, giving as their objections:

1. That as the Preliminary Convention had unanimously requested the House of Bishops to allow them to have the episcopal services of Bishop Kemper, the deputies were wholly unauthorized as well as powerless to dismiss Bishop Kemper by informing him that his services were no longer needed in Kansas.

2. Neither had the Standing Committee authority to call a special convention for the election of a bishop as the action of the Preliminary Convention vested Bishop Kemper with "full episcopal charge and authority."

3. That according to Sec. 2 of Art. IV of the Preliminary Convention "No person shall be canonically connected with this Diocese until he shall have presented to the Bishop or the Ecclesiastical Authority thereof, a letter dismissing him from the diocese with which he was last connected. All told there is barely a canonical number of clergy in the diocese to elect a bishop, and of these a majority we believe have never been dismissed from their former diocese to any Ecclesiastical Authority in Kansas whatsoever. . . . It seems, therefore, clearly established then that the special convention has not been legally called, and that there is not the requisite number of clergy canonically resident to elect a bishop."

They further objected that the Church in Kansas was not sufficiently strong to support a bishop alone, there being not one parish within its boundaries able to support a minister without missionary aid. This protest was signed by the Rev. Hiram Stone and James Bodine, M. D., and placed in the hands of a lay delegate from Leavenworth, they both having decided not to be present nor participate in the Convention. Reports of the proceedings being printed in some of the eastern papers the Rev. Dr. Dyer declined the election.

In the report of the Standing Committee to the first annual Convention we read: "The Standing Committee met in Leavenworth City on the 30th day of May, 1860, when the following resolution was offered and rejected: "Whereas, as the late Special Convention of the Diocese did not adjourn sine die, but to meet again at the call of the Standing Committee; therefore, *Resolved*, that the Standing Committee do now appoint Wednesday the 27th day of June, next, at 11 o'clock A. M. for the Convention again to assemble at Atchison." It was further noted: "The Rev. Heman Dyer, D. D., having declined the episcopate, the Committee invite the Rt. Rev. Henry W. Lee, D. D., Bishop of Iowa, to perform episcopal services in the Diocese to-



ward the close of the conventional year, and to be present and preside at the Convention."

Of the clergy who participated in this Special Convention only four took seats in the first annual Convention held Sept. 12, 1860, and only six of the so-called parishes were represented, and seven made reports.

### III.

Besides the parish at Leavenworth work had been established at Wyandotte, which is now called Kansas City, at Lecompton, the old territorial capital, at Lawrence, Topeka, at Prairie City, which was near what is now Baldwin, at Elwood which is across the river from St. Joseph, at Atchison, at Manhattan, at Wabaunsee, at Tecumseh the old capital near Fort Riley, and at Junction City.

Before proceeding further it will be well to take a closer view of the men who did this work, and while we would not forget the laymen to whom much credit is due we must first look at the clergy. We have seen that the clergy in the order of their arrival were Bishop Kemper, 1837; Rev. Henry Gregory, 1838; Rev. John McNamara, 1854-55; Rev. Hiram Stone, 1856. This next year came the Rev. C. M. Callaway on an exploration tour. Tecumseh was then the capital and Mr. Callaway secured lots here for the erection of an Episcopal Female Seminary. He also visited and preached at Manhattan, Topeka, Lawrence and Wyandotte and possibly other places before returning to report to the Missionary Society, which had sent him out. He became the missionary at Topeka in the fall of 1857 and held services in a third-story building on the southwest corner of Kansas and Sixth. Mr. Callaway had laid the foundation for a fine, large building at Tecumseh upon the beautiful and spacious grounds which had been donated. To induce him to locate in Topeka, the Topeka Association donated to him lots 272, 274, 276 on Topeka Ave. The spirit of rivalry was at its height—the result was that in addition the Topeka Association donated for the school the twenty acres now known as Bethany Square, and the citizens individually gave him thirty more lots. In the preliminary convention the Female Seminary, duly incorporated and located at Tecumseh, was approved and accepted as a Diocesan School for girls. He spent something like \$1,000 on the foundation before being convinced by the foregoing strong arguments to move it to Topeka, the means being provided by which the foundation was taken up and moved to Topeka.

In 1859 the superstructure of a fine school building was in place and to the Convention of Sept., 1860, Mr. Callaway reported: "The

Female Seminary is now complete, and is paid for, with the exception of \$1,200 which is pledged in the East. The Seminary building is an ornament to the town and an honor to the church, through whose liberality chiefly it has been erected. The property owned by the Seminary, and held in trust by a corporate body of Trustees, is worth about \$15,000." In regard to the parish he reported: "The Parish has spent during the past year about four hundred dollars in fitting up a hall for services. The Hall is nearly always full of attentive listeners to the preaching of the Word." The Parish had a very comfortable parsonage, built mainly through contributions from friends in the East. Baptisms, adults, 9; children, 1; communicants added, 17; removal, 3; died, 2; confirmed, 7.

Grace Church was organized Sept. 9, 1860, and admitted to the Convention Sept. 12, with Charles M. Gallaway as rector, Chas. C. Kellam, James Fletcher, John W. Farnsworth, C. K. Holliday and J. F. Cumings, vestrymen.

On Sept. 15, 1860, measures were first taken to build a church. In the same month Mr. Callaway resigned and was on the 16th of November transferred to the Diocese of Missouri. He was born in Virginia, graduated from the Theological School at Alexandria; from Maryland he came to Kansas and held the first services of this Church in many places, and after securing \$10,000 in the East laid the foundations of the great properties of the Church in Topeka. After nearly twenty years probably as earnest and faithful in other fields, he departed this life at Brandywine Hundred, Delaware, in the 51st year of his age. The Kansas Theological School, the Bethany College Square and possibly some of the property which went to build Christ Hospital are the monuments he left in Kansas.

A faithful layman shall next engage our attention: Samuel Reynolds, who was born in England, 1823, came to this country while a boy. Receiving a liberal education he first engaged in teaching. He came at his brother's solicitation and took charge of the Williamsburg Grammar School across the East River from New York City in 1848 where he remained. In addition to the regular school work he taught vocal music in a girls' school in the city, gave concerts twice a year with the two schools, sang in the quartette of Christ Church, etc. About 1854 he married and six months later he sold his school and moved to Kansas, and took up a claim. In 1856 he wrote a letter to the *Protestant Churchman*, calling attention to the religious needs of the new community, and urging the Church to occupy at once this promising field. The letter attracted the attention of Amos Lawrence, the founder of the town, who sent a box of books which formed the first Sunday School

library. A further result was the coming of his brother, the Rev. Charles Reynolds, of Columbus, Ohio, to visit him in 1857, and who then resigned his parish and took up his residence and organized Trinity Church, Lawrence, in the spring of 1858. Shortly after this came another earnest layman, Wm. H. Hickcox, who became the superintendent of the Sunday School, while Samuel Reynolds took charge of the music and was choir-master for many years. These three, with Lyman Eldredge and O. A. Bassett, represented Trinity Parish, Lawrence, in the preliminary Convention. The organization of the parish was effected by the Rev. Charles Reynolds as Rector, W. H. Hickcox and Samuel Reynolds, wardens; G. W. Smith, J. C. Horton, E. C. Burroughs and Mr. Safford, vestrymen.

A letter written at this time by the Rev. Charles Reynolds shows a side of life we know nothing of these days:

“Lawrence, May 28th.

Dear Mother:—We have been here three days, and to relate to you half our privations would only pain you, and not benefit ourselves.

Board at the hotel was \$10 per day for my family. I remained there but one day, and then hired a shanty for \$8. per month. I spent \$12. in trying to make it inhabitable, and for lumber for bedsteads which I made myself. Out of one of the boxes which I brought with me, I made a table. I borrowed a few bed-ticks. I have made beds out of prairie hay. But the shanty is not comfortable; the children are being eaten alive. In order that we may get out of this hole, I have purchased a lot, and I expect to build at once. . . . Not a single article of furniture has arrived. We have borrowed a few chairs, plates, etc., and are living in true pioneer style. The future looks bright but the present hour is a great trial, both for the flesh, and to faith. Affectionately yours,

C. REYNOLDS.”

For some time services were held in a hall on Massachusetts street and also in a building first erected by the Methodists, and later changing into a dwelling. As soon as possible steps were taken to procure a lot, and to erect a church, and in 1859 the main part of what is now called the Chapel was erected. It is the oldest church building of the Episcopal church in Kansas, and is a little gem of Gothic architecture. This church was consecrated by the Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, on the first of August, 1859. In his report to the first annual Convention Mr. Reynolds tells us that “In addition to my labors in Lawrence, I officiate every two weeks at Prairie City; every month at Blue Mound, and occasionally at Minneola, Peoria, and other and more distant

towns. Communicants at this time, 30; removed, 10; died, 1; baptism, 14; marriages, 6; funerals, 12."

The Rev. J. M. Drummond made a report to this Convention which is of considerable interest and we give it in full:

St. Marysville, Sept. 8, 1860.

"To the Ecclesiastical Authority", etc.

I came to Kansas in the spring of 1857, as an emigrant citizen and a volunteer Missionary. Wishing to preach self-supportingly, I wrought with my hands and performed Missionary service in the country surrounding my home, till in the fall of 1859. I then abandoned farming and have since labored exclusively in the ministry. During this whole period, after giving the Church a start in Kansas City, Mo., I traveled far and wide in Johnston and Lykins Counties, Kansas Territory. Besides general ministrations, I have originated parishes in Olathe and Paola, in Shawnee and Monticello, and last of all, in this region, at Spring Hill; the latter for the present has passed away in the ebb-tide of emigration. In preaching I broke ground in Osawatomie, but passed it over to the Rev. Charles Reynolds, of Lawrence, on the ground of his acquaintance and influence with the town proprietors. After the opening of the spring of 1860, I turned my attention to the Neosho and Fort Scott countries, in connection with bi-monthly preaching near home. I have visited and found church members and Church friends at the Sax and Fox Agency, at Burlingame, and Superior, at Americus, Council Grove, Cottonwood Falls, and Emporia, at Ottawa, Ottumwa, Burlington and LeRoy, at Iola, Humbolt, Fort Scott, Mound City and Paris. I visited Garnett on the presumptive report of Episcopalians living there, but found them not: every where else they have been in greater or feebler force. The probable sum total of all the places enumerated is seventy-five. There are several who seek admission into the Church by confirmation, while not a few need the social rectification which grows out of regular services and resident influences.

During this period I have left undone many things I ought to have done, and have done many things which I ought not have done; still I have experienced kindness among friends at home, from brethren abroad and from God on high; I have been fed and clothed, and grace has been vouchsafed, which, though but a light shining in a dark well, but love operating on adamant, has still enabled me to drink of the brook by the way, and to lift up my head amid increasing introspections of sinfulness and weakness, which, without the grace of Christ, would be annihilative.

In closing, permit me this suggestion: Should not the Neosho and Fort Scott countries be distributed for Mission-



ary services among our clergy on the Kaw? This might be done until the Church can send out Missionaries to these lovely and inviting regions.

Respectfully submitted,

J. H. DRUMMOND,  
Resident of Lykins County.

*St. Paul's Church, Kansas City*, was formerly known as Wyandotte, and later several other suburbs were united with it and called Kansas City. We shall use the old title for the time when this was the correct name. This parish was started by the Rev. R. S. Nash of Lexington, Mo., in the spring of 1857. After organizing the parish he went east and spent the summer soliciting funds for the erection of a church. He succeeded in erecting a beautiful church and a substantial rectory. As we have seen the first or primary Convention was held in this church. In this report to the first annual Convention he says:

"Our church and parsonage are paid for, as far as completed. Collections for general objects, other than the erection of the church and parsonage about \$125.

"Present number of communicants, 10; confirmations, 4; baptisms, infants 3, adults 2, 5; burials, 4."

*St. Paul's Church, Manhattan*: We have seen that the Rev. David Clarkson administered the Holy Communion to a dying girl and three other communicants and that the Rev. C. M. Callaway and Bishop Kemper preached here in 1857. Mr. Callaway found three communicants in July, 1857, and seems to have started them toward the organization of a parish. There is no record of what was done in this place till May 13, 1858, upon which date the parish organized by electing Ambrose Todd, Warden, and E. M. Thurston, J. W. Scott, Newell, Samuel Hoyt, D. A. Butterfield, Rev. N. O. Preston as Rector. He assumed charge the 17th day of May. The parish was incorporated Sept., 1858, for a term of 99 years. In his report to the Convention of 1860 the Rev. N. O. Preston says: "There was but one family and some half dozen individuals who were Episcopalians; we now count 18 families. There was only 3 communicants; we now number 16. There have been: Baptisms, 15; confirmations, 2; marriages, 3; burials, 2.

"A beautiful church edifice, of stone, sixty by thirty, is expected to be ready for worship by Christmas. A Sunday School and Bible Class have been under course of instruction by the rector and others the greater portion of the time."

*St. Mark's Church, Elwood*: The Rev. J. E. Ryan had located here in 1858 and preached here and at Troy, the county seat of Doniphan County. This parish never sent a delegate to a Convention and except

for Mr. Ryan's report we have no data. To the Convention 1860 he says: Families connected with parish, 9; communicants, 9; baptisms, 7; confirmations, 2; marriages, 6; funerals, 9; children in Sunday School, 35; teachers, 6.

"I hold services once a month at Troy, the county seat, distant from Elwood fourteen miles, etc. The confirmations above were at Troy."

*St. John's Church, Junction City:* We have the report of the Rev. G. D. Henderson, rector, as follows: "One year ago the twenty-first of this present month, I undertook the organization of a parish (known as St. John's Parish) in Junction City. The Rev. D. Clarkson had previously officiated, a period of time, at this place. I found the prejudices of the community at large very strong against our worship; but time and better acquaintance slowly removed these, and a favorable reaction has taken place.

"The Sunday School now numbers some thirty-two (32) members and five teachers. A neat stone church is now being enclosed, which has thus far been carried on from our home resources. The ladies have organized a sewing circle, and have contributed devotedly to the common work. Two valuable communicants have recently become connected with the parish.

"Baptisms, 1 adult, 4 infants; marriages, 2; burials, 4. For religious uses there have been raised \$1,246."

He became the chaplain at Ft. Riley at this time but continues as rector. For Ft. Riley he reports an encouragingly large congregation and Sunday School.

*Atchison:* This parish was organized November 3, 1857, by Rev. Lewis R. Staudenmayer, John H. Stringfellow, Joseph P. Carr, G. W. Bowman, Wm. O. Gould, John M. Maury, James W. Stringfellow, Daniel Adams. The articles of agreement were signed before Alfred Otis who also was a life-long worker in this parish. The named adopted at this time was *St. Mary Magdalene's*. During the ministry of the Rev. Lewis R. Staudenmayer St. Mary's Parish secured from Mr. Luther Challiss the property owned for many years on the corner of Kansas Avenue and Ninth Street and in 1859 on the north half of this lot a church was built with money secured by Mr. Staudenmayer from friends in the East and South. A parish meeting was held April, 1859, at which the following vestry was elected: Richard C. Mackall, A. Hanson, Weightman, James L. McCluer, Philip Link, John M. Maury, Joseph P. Carr.

In July the rector appointed Jos. P. Carr and A. H. Weightman a committee to procure estimates for building a church, and at a vestry meeting held in October Major Weightman made a motion to build a church upon the Challiss lots to cost \$1,500 exclusive of furnishings. The foundations of the church were laid but the resignation of Mr. Staudenmayer in January, 1860, and his removal from the city brought to a standstill the construction of the edifice.

In February preceding the parish had divided and a new organization had been effected and a charter obtained for a parish to be called Grace Church. Mr. Staudenmayer's removal from the city seemed to bring the people together again, and in February, 1860, a new charter was obtained under the title of Trinity Church.

While Mr. Staudenmayer was a participant in the Primary Convention and chairman of the Committee on By-Laws, his parish did not have a delegate there. At the Special Convention Trinity Church was represented by A. Arnold, M. D., and in the first annual Convention by G. H. Fairchild.

Mrs. John J. Ingalls in the memorabilia which she kindly wrote for the Rev. Francis S. White's "*Story of a Kansas Parish*," says: "That when she came to Atchison in August, 1859, the rectory was then being built, by the Rev. L. R. Staudenmayer, who was in charge of the Parish. As soon as this cottage was finished it was rented to Mr. Harry Gillman, who was clerking for my father, the Rev. Mr. Staudenmayer keeping the wing for his study and bedroom. The church services were held in the house of Gen. Weightman, who lived nearby on Kansas Ave. . . . We began to look forward to building a church, but in 1861 at the fall of Sumter, rumors of the impending war filled the air, great excitement prevailed, and the movement languished. After the war was declared, a great change took place in our population. Atchison being a town largely settled by Southerners, (many of whom belonged to the Episcopal Church) she began to lose many of her early citizens. Gen. Weightman was one of the first to go south and join the Confederate Army. He lost his life in the battle of Wilson Creek, August 16, 1861, when our Gen. Lyon fell. The Rev. Mr. Staudenmayer had previously returned to Carolina with numerous others, and so for a long while the little handful of Episcopalians scattered and the church languished."

Lecompton having lost its place as the capital soon dwindled to a small village, and although there are even to this day a few of the faithful left, St. Luke's has long since ceased to call itself a parish, although it can today muster more members and money than three-fourths of the parishes who organized the Diocese of Kansas.

*Christ Church, Prairie City:* This seems to have been a laymen's effort entirely, as we find no clergyman connected with it till the report of the Rev. Charles Reynolds to the Convention of 1860. It was represented in the Preliminary Convention by Drs. Graham and Caniff and Mr. Wm. B. Hayden. The first named was elected a delegate to the General Convention as well as on the Standing Committee; the second was made a member of the Missionary Committee. Both were members of the Special Convention. In the first Annual Convention Dr. Graham and O. P. Willet represented this Parish, but except the statement of Rev. C. Reynolds that he officiates here every two weeks there is no report. In 1861 there were ten confirmations, in 1862 there were only eight communicants, but the next year there were twelve confirmed and the commuicants numbered eighteen.

The first Annual Convention met in St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth, Sept. 12, 1860. Morning Prayer was read by the Rev. Messrs. Preston and Callaway, Bishop Henry W. Lee of Iowa took the office of Holy Communion assisted by the Rev. Mr. Preston. The Bishop also preached a sermon.

The Convention was called to order by the Secretary, Rev. J. E. Ryan, and the Rev. N. O. Preston appointed President, *pro tempore*; when the roll was called the following clergy were declared entitled to vote, Rev. Messrs. C. M. Callaway, Geo. D. Henderson, N. O. Preston, H. Stone and R. S. Nash. While this omitted the names of the Rev. Messrs. Reynolds, Ryan, and Drummond they were given the liberty of the house and appointed to several committees. It was only a question of not having presented letters of transfer.

The parishes and their delegates were:

Junction City, Major J. G. Martin, P. Z. Taylor.

Prairie City, Dr. Wm. Graham, O. P. Willet.

Grace Church, C. K. Holliday, C. C. Kellam.

Leavenworth, Ethan Earle, Dr. J. M. Bodine.

Atchison, G. H. Fairchild.

The President announced the Convention organized. The Convention then voted to ask the Right Rev. H. W. Lee, D. D., to preside at the Convention, and "that the Diocese of Kansas be placed under the full episcopal charge and authority of Bishop Lee, untill such time as a Bishop for the Diocese shall be duly elected and consecrated, or until the action of this Convention be revoked."

From the Bishop's Address:

"I thank you for the confidence you so kindly repose in me, and I assure you that I will cheerfully do what in me lies to aid you in



the great work in which you are engaged. Acting under invitation of your Standing Committee, I have already visited the parishes at Elwood, Atchison, and Leavenworth, preaching the word, and conferring with the clergy and laity concerning the interests of our Church in those places. In the town of Troy, a Missionary station under the care of the Rev. Mr. Ryan, I preached on Sunday morning last, and confirmed two persons. Last evening I preached in the church where we are now assembled, and also this morning, at the opening of this Convention. Pressing engagements in Iowa will prevent me from entering upon a general visitation in Kansas at present."

The Standing Committee elected this year: Rev. Messrs. Preston, Callaway, and Nash; Messrs. J. M. Bodine, G. H. Fairchild and Major J. G. Martin.

In the preceding chapter we have noted everything of interest except that after the resignation of the Rev. H. Stone as rector of the Parish of St. Paul's, Leavenworth City, he at the request of the vestry continued to give them services, but lacking that personal influence the Sunday School was disbanded. The Warden's report is for the time preceding the resignations and shows:

"Families regularly connected with the parish, 35; families nominally connected with the parish, 15; baptisms, infants, 8; confirmations, 8; communicants, 40; marriages, 3; burials, 4. The parish has suffered materially from want of a settled minister."

The Rev. H. Stone reports regular services at the Post, but that owing to the fluctuating population it is difficult to make an accurate report, the communicants varying during the year from 10 to 25. His official acts included 6 baptisms, infant; 3 marriages; 11 burials.

It is asserted that the first services in Leavenworth were held by Bishop Kemper in 1856, and that he organized a parish, that lay services were held for a time in a hall on the north side of Delaware Street, between Second and Third Streets, next west of the McCracken building. Services were then held for some years in the basement of a stone house on Seneca Street, south side near Third, next to Van Tuyl's livery stable. Rev. H. Stone rector. A large stone church was commenced on the northwest corner of Seventh and Ottawa Streets, and a parsonage erected on the rear end of the lot. This location was afterward decided to be undesirable and abandoned. A little church was erected in 1858 on the rear of the second lot of the corner of 5th and Chestnut. The title came to be in doubt and it was abandoned and the present site of St. Paul's selected on the northeast corner of Seventh and Seneca Streets.

The second annual Convention met in Trinity Church, Lawrence,

Sept. 11, 1861. Bishop Lee being unable to attend, after Morning Prayer and the Holy Communion by the Rev. N. O. Preston, the Rev. Chas. Reynolds and the Rev. R. S. Nash, the latter preaching the sermon, the Convention was called to order by the Secretary, Rev. N. O. Preston, who nominated the Rev. C. Reynolds as President, which was unanimously confirmed. On reading the list of clergy canonically resident, the following answered to their names: Rev. Messrs. Nash, Preston, Reynolds, and Wm. H. Hickcox. There not being a constitutional quorum of lay deputies present the convention adjourned till 3 p. m. At this hour the following parishes were represented:

Grace Church, Topeka, C. C. Kellam, and John Farnsworth.

Trinity Church, Lawrence, Samuel Reynolds, N. C. Burroughs and H. J. Canniff.

Christ Church, Prairie City, Wm. Graham, M. D., O. P. Willets, N. C. Cradit.

The Treasurer of the Diocese reported having received from the assessments on the parishes the sum of \$29.00.

The Standing Committee reported having recommended Wm. H. Hickcox to be admitted to the order of Deacons, and Job W. Hague to be received as a Candidate for Orders.

The Standing Committee unanimously elected this year was: The Rev. Messrs. Preston, Nash and Reynolds; Messrs. Graham, Burroughs and Kellam.

On the second day the address of Bishop Lee was read and from it we take:

"In the providence of God, however, I have been permitted to secure substantial temporal aid to the Diocese of Kansas during the period of painful want and suffering through which you have recently been called to pass . . . the amount of aid thus afforded was a little more than five thousand dollars . . . during the winter my time has been almost exclusively devoted to this beneficent work . . . On Sept. 12, before the close of the Convention at Leavenworth I accepted letters dismissory from the Bishop of Ohio, transferring the Rev. Chas. Reynolds and Rev. Joseph E. Ryan to this Diocese. . . .

"On Friday evening September 14, after prayers by the rector, the Rev. Mr. Callaway, I preached in the Parish Church, Topeka, confirmed seven persons and addressed them . . . the Diocesan Female Seminary was not in operation. . . . On Sunday, Sept. 16, I preached twice in St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth, the Rev. H. Stone assisting in the service. Returning from a laborious visitation of the western portion of Iowa I officiated in Trinity Church, Lawrence, on Saturday evening when after prayer by the rector, the Rev. Mr. Reynolds, I

preached, confirmed three persons and addressed them. On the next morning, Sunday, Sept. 30, I baptized the child of the rector." He tells of his visits to St. Paul's, Wyandotte, confirming three, Oct. 1. On Oct. 14 he ordained Mr. Wm. H. Hickcox at St. Luke's Church, Davenport. "On November 24 I transferred the Rev. C. M. Callaway to the Diocese of Missouri. He is succeeded at Topeka by the Rev. N. O. Preston. On Nov. 24 I received into the Diocese the Rev. John H. Kehler from the Diocese of Maryland. He is laboring at Denver City, in what is now the Territory of Colorado." The Bishop suggested that the Convention take action transferring this part of the Diocese to the General Convention, which was done. On November 28, the Rev. L. R. Staudenmayer was transferred to the Diocese of Florida.

He set forth a form of prayer for use during the unhappy condition of the Civil War.

"I have received Job W. Hague, late minister of the Methodist denomination, as a Candidate for Holy Orders."

"On December 19 the Rev. Faber Byllesby was received into the Diocese on letters dimissory from the Bishop of Pennsylvania, and is rector of the Trinity Church, Atchison, one of the most important points in the Diocese. The Rev. Mr. Henderson has resigned the charge of St. John's Church, Junction City, and is chaplain of Fort Riley.

The Rev. John H. Drummond of the Diocese of Indiana, still resides in the diocese and officiates in various places, as health and opportunity permit."

The Rev. N. O. Preston reported that the "Topeka Female College commenced its first session on the 10th of June last, and is now in successful operation under the personal supervision and instruction of the rector, Rev. N. O. Preston, aided by two competent female assistants."

The Convention unanimously adopted resolutions upholding the Federal Government in the Civil War.

Trinity Church, Lawrence, reports this year 27 communicants.

Christ Church, Prairie City, reports 10 confirmations.

The Rev. C. Reynolds is priest in charge with Rev. W. H. Hickcox, deacon, ministers here and at Blue Mound and at Burlington. The building erected for a Diocesan Male School has been completed so far as to enable the Trustees to hold their school in it, and the vestry of the Parish to use the lower story for a church. The Rev. J. E. Ryan reports at Ellwood and Troy 10 communicants; that he preaches also once a month at White Cloud. "Our congregations are not so large as they were six months ago, owing to the fact that many of our young

men, who were regular in their attendance at our services have joined the Army and are now defending their country." The Rev. R. S. Nash reports at St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte, 12 communicants. The Rev. N. O. Preston reports at St. Paul's Church, Manhattan, 16. Grace Church, Topeka, had increased from 12 to 21 communicants. The Rev. H. Stone gives morning services at the Post and evenings at St. Paul's, Leavenworth.

On Dec. 7, 1860, the Rev. N. O. Preston succeeded the Rev. C. M. Callaway and continued to hold services in the hall on Kansas and Sixth till June of the following summer when they were held for a time in the rooms of the Seminary. Work was commenced on the erection of a church at the southwest corner of Seventh and Jackson Sts. in June, 1861, but it was not till the summer of 1863 that the building was completed and partly furnished and services held there.

Bishop Lee found it impossible for him to leave his Diocese and in his address to the Convention of 1862 asks to be relieved, but agrees to wait till he has had a personal talk with the deputies sent to the General Convention of 1862. Rev. C. Reynolds had become chaplain of the Second Regiment composed largely from his community, and his parish is supplied by the Rev. W. H. Hickcox of Prairie City. Rev. J. E. Ryan is confining his labors to Troy.

The Convention of 1862 was held in Christ Church, Prairie City. The Rev. N. O. Preston was unanimously elected President of the Convention. The names of the parishes being called only two responded:

Grace Church, Topeka, Samuel R. Remington and James A. Hickey.

Christ Church, Prairie City, John Graham, N. C. Cradit and Wm. Graham, M. D.

The Rev. Wm. H. Hickey was unanimously elected Secretary.

That part of the Diocese now lying in the Territory of Colorado was ceded to General Convention that it might make such arrangement for it as it saw best.

The Treasurer's report showed that assessments on the parishes amounted to \$54.00.

The report of the Educational Committee showed that the Episcopal Female Seminary at Topeka had been in successful operation for the past year with an attendance of 75, under the direction of Rev. N. O. Preston, assisted by Mrs. Preston, Miss M. Preston and Miss Otis.

The ballot for deputies to the General Convention was then taken and resulted in the unanimous election of the Rev. Messrs. Nash, Reynolds, Preston, and Ryan, and Messrs. Graham, Cradit, Kellam and Todd.



The Standing Committee was also elected unanimously: Rev. Messrs. Preston, Reynolds, and Nash, and Messrs. Graham, Burrough, and Kellam.

The School for Males at Prairie City was now called Heber Institute. On motion, the Rev. R. S. Nash and Hiram McAllister were elected Trustees to take the place of H. Gifford and S. S. Prouty whose terms had expired. The parochial reports revealed the following:

*Christ Church, Prairie City*: Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox, Deacon and Missionary. Number of families, 13; baptisms, 6; communicants, 8; contributions, \$31.00.

*For Leavenworth*: Rev. Hiram Stone, chaplain. Communicants, 5; baptisms, 8 infants; burials, 15.

*St. Paul's, Leavenworth*: Rev. H. Stone, supply. Communicants, 30; families, 25; baptisms, 5.

*Grace Church, Topeka*: Rev. N. O. Preston, Rector. Communicants, 26; baptisms, 13; communion alms, about \$30. The new church costing about \$3,500 is about completed and all but about \$900 collected in the parish. Sunday school, 35.

*St. Paul's, Wyandotte*: Rev. R. S. Nash, Rector. Communicants, 8; baptisms, 2; Sunday School, 25. For church lot \$150. Extra-parochial \$9.25. The church lot formerly leased is now owned, free from encumbrance, the Parish has suffered because of removals and enlistments in the army.

*Trinity, Atchison*, made no report this year, but we know the Rev. Faber Byllesby had been rector Dec. 19, 1860, sometime over a year. It further appears that at the election of Dr. Heman Dyer as Bishop, this parish had invited him to become rector of the parish. And when he declined the election, the vestry called the Rev. C. M. Callaway and he declined the call in October, 1860.

The Convention of 1863 met in Grace Church, Topeka, September, 1863, at which time the Rev. George Henderson and the Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox, deacons, were advanced to the Holy Order of priests by the Rt. Rev. H. W. Lee. These with the following lay delegates constituted the Convention:

Grace Church, Topeka, John McComb, S. R. Remington, and C. C. Kellam.

St. Paul's, Manhattan, Henry Booth.

Trinity, Atchison, David Hunt.

The Bishop declared the Convention organized and the Rev. W. H. Hickcox was again elected Secretary of the Convention.

From the Bishop's Address we learn:

"In the month of April last I was enabled to make a visitation of the Diocese and perform some official duties. I officiated at Troy, confirming two persons; in Wyandotte, in Lawrence, in Prairie City confirming 12 persons; in Atchison and at Fort Leavenworth confirming two persons; in Leavenworth City confirming two persons; and in Topeka confirming 11 persons. I also visited the Diocesan Female Seminary and made an address to the pupils. I was happy to find this important institution in a flourishing condition. The Rev. N. O. Preston remains in charge of the parish and of the Seminary. A fitting and commodious church is nearly completed in this parish and it is hoped it may soon be consecrated to the worship of Almighty God. At Leavenworth a church is also in progress, and it gives promise of being one of the most appropriate structures of the kind in this portion of the country. The Rev. John H. Egar, who has been received from the Diocese of Illinois, is now the rector of this important parish. I am happy to state that a church is also in process of erection at Fort Scott, where the Rev. Charles Reynolds has been officiating for some weeks past. Mr. Reynolds has been trying to secure his discharge as chaplain in order to return to his parish in Lawrence, and meanwhile devoted his labors to the parish at Fort Scott, where they seem to have been signally blessed. How marked the Providence which detained him from Lawrence, and thus, in all probability, saved him from the dreadful fate of some of the dear people of his parochial charge. The parish at Lawrence, will of course be in a depressed condition for some time to come; but we may hope that as the city itself rises from its ruins, the parish will also be reanimated and go forward in a career of renewed and even increased prosperity. The Rev. R. S. Nash is still in charge of the parish of Prairie City, and of the Diocesan school established at that place. Funds are much needed for the completion of the school house, the upper portion of which is intended as a place of worship for the parish. I was much cheered by the large class presented here by the rector for confirmation.

Wyandotte, with its pleasant church and parsonage remains destitute of our services. Manhattan has been vacant since the removal of the Rev. Mr. Preston to Topeka. The Rev. J. E. Ryan is officiating at Atchison and Troy. The Rev. W. H. Hickcox is a missionary at Burlington and other places in that part of the Diocese. The Rev. Hiram Stone is still the chaplain at Ft. Leavenworth. The parish is deeply indebted to him for his many labors of love during the long vacancy in the rectorship. The Rev. Geo. D. Henderson continues to officiate as chaplain at Ft. Riley."

In the afternoon the Rev. R. S. Nash took his seat in the Convention, and two new parishes appeared with their delegates: St. An-

draws, Burlington, Messrs. O. Walking and James Manson; Trinity Church, Troy, Mr. H. P. Saxton. St. Andrews, Fort Scott, was not represented in this convention, but receives mention in the Bishop's address, and we now present what may be learned of its history. Mr. Goodlander in his Memoirs tells a very interesting story of its origin, but his effort to be funny destroys the historic value of his narrative, which is true only in part. The first work of the Church at Fort Scott was accomplished by the Rev. David Clarkson who was appointed chaplain of the Post from the Diocese of New Jersey, March 19, 1850, and served till April 25, 1853, when he was transferred to Fort Riley, where he remained till May 14, 1860, when he was succeeded by Geo. D. Henderson. In his report to his Bishop, he tells how he conducted services every Sunday and taught school during the week. In two reports there are recorded five baptisms, five marriages, and ten funerals. The Rev. J. H. Drummond visited this place in 1858 and found several Churchmen and in 1859 a partial organization was effected by G. J. Clark, General Blair and Chas. H. Haynes. Several authorities assert that in the fall of this year Chaplain Reynolds reports to this effect till in the Convention of 1863, when he says: "During the past three months I have been acting as post chaplain at Ft. Scott, by order of Major Gen. Scofield. During this period a subscription has been raised for the erection of a church in that town. I laid the cornerstone about the 25th of July. The building which is of stone is 30 by 60 feet, is now ready for the roof. The Episcopalians at Ft. Scott, although few in numbers, are active, zealous and liberal. If the building be completed as planned, it will be one of the most imposing and permanent little structures in the state. The tower and spire are to be entirely of stone."

Goodlander says the organization was effected by the chaplain taking "Geo. Clark, Willis Ransom, C. H. Haynes, Ben. McDonald and myself to make the five vestrymen needed to organize the church. We met in the old Land Office Bldg. and as we came out we met Salmon P. Hall sitting on the steps of the Land Office. He said 'Boys, been having a game?' 'No,' said Will Ransom, 'we have just organized an Episcopal Church, and we five are vestrymen.' Hall said: 'You are a hell of a bunch to organize a church; you are better suited to run a saloon or variety show.' I served as vestryman I think from 1858 till about 1863 when they put me out and E. M. Hulett in my place (and by the way I never considered Hulett much of an improvement over myself). In the early days of the Episcopal Church Mrs. C. H. Haynes took the lead the same as she does at the present time. . . . I suppose

owing to the character of the first vestry, Joe Ray and Jack White used to call it the 'Whiskeypalian Church.'"

More authentic history tells us that the first vestry, or at any rate the one organized by the Rev. Chas. Reynolds was composed of Gov. Ransom, Senior Warden, C. H. Haynes Junior Warden, G. A. Crawford, C. W. Blair, A. McDonald, G. J. Clark and W. T. Campbell. When we remember also that Mr. Reynolds used the unfermented juice of the grape for sacramental purposes, we hardly think he would have organized a "Whiskeypalian Church."

The stone church thus built was rented to the Government as an arsenal, the officers agreeing to put in the floor, windows and doors.

*St. Andrew's Church, Burlington:* The Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox served the parishes of Prairie City and Lawrence until the middle of November, 1862, when he moved to Burlington where he secured a farm and from this he continued to work. He had visited Burlington previous to this at times and before him had come the Rev. J. H. Drummond as is seen in his first report. On the 8th of December the Rev. W. H. Hickcox organized a parish under the name of St. Andrews. Several others who had been interested in Christ Church and the Male School at Prairie City had also moved here and were active in the church and town. They were S. S. Prouty and family, O. P. Willets. We find Hiram McAlister, one of its trustees, is a member of the Burlington Church also. Mr. Hickcox began at once a weekly service and a week day meeting for prayer and lecture. He also extended his work to LeRoy and Emporia where he found a number of communicants and others who were interested. He likewise preached in the schoolhouses as opportunity offered. At Burlington he had 12 families, and 40 catechumens. "The sound of the church-going bell is not heard among us."

*Trinity Church, Troy,* had been a Mission some time in 1859, but was not organized formally till on Easter Monday, 1863, they elected wardens and vestrymen and delegates to the convention and were received into union with the Diocese at this convention. There were 9 communicants. The Rev. Mr. Ryan divided his time, *Trinity Church, Atchison*, receiving half time. At this latter place there were now 16 communicants. He reports: "I took charge of this parish about the first of April and found the Church-people very much discouraged." His faithful services were evidently appreciated for he says: "I would hereby acknowledge the present of a purse of \$50 from the ladies of my parish for the purchase of a silk gown." This was no doubt a "Preaching Gown" which was put on at the time of preaching the sermon in those days.



*Prairie City Parish and Heber Institute* were under the care of the Rev. R. S. Nash who had resigned as rector of St. Paul's, Wyandotte, Nov., 1862. Here he had 12 families, 18 communicants. Sunday school 30. In addition he held services in Olathe and Wyandotte. He says "The success of the Institute exceeds my anticipations."

*Trinity Church, Lawrence*, was almost wiped out by the Quantrell raid and massacre which occurred August 21st, 1863.

*St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth*: The Rev. John H. Egar had accepted the rectorship March, 1863. The old organization with its properties seem to have been lost and the parish was now reorganized under the name of "The Church of St. Paul." At once efforts were made to build and by June work began and there was built the chancel, the first stage of the tower, the vestry room and organ room and 40 ft. length of nave. While the rector was in the East in the interest of this church, the Rev. H. Stone continued to supply services. On July 10, 1864, the first sermon was preached in this new church by the Rev. A. D. Cole, D. D., President of Nashotah House, the Rev. H. Stone and Rev. N. O. Preston being with the rector in the chancel.

The Rev. G. D. Henderson while still officiating at Ft. Riley has no report for Junction City where he had built a church, but had not completed it when the war called out the men from this as other places and the work languished for the time.

*Grace Church, Topeka*, had also suffered and the church was incomplete but with the school it continued to do good work and the Rev. N. O. Preston reports 11 confirmations which in spite of removals brings the total communicants up to 31. Number of families 20. Collections for church purposes \$500. Communion alms \$20.

The convention of the year 1864 was held at Atchison, the Right Rev. H. W. Lee, D. D., of Iowa, presiding. The usual opening services were held in the Methodist Church, after which the roll being called the Bishop and following clergy answered to their names:

The Rev. Messrs. R. S. Nash, N. O. Preston, Hiram Stone, W. H. Hickcox, Jos. E. Ryan, and John H. Egar.

The parishes were represented as follows:

St. Paul's, Leavenworth: M. J. Parrott, J. C. Hemengray, Geo. W. Nellis.

St. Andrew's, Burlington: H. McAlister, M. E. Grimes, O. A. Walking.

St. Paul's, Wyandotte: E. M. Bartholow.

Trinity Church, Lawrence: James C. Horton.

St. Paul's, Manhattan: Ambrose Todd.

Trinity, Atchison: Geo. H. Fairchild.

Grace, Topeka: G. W. Amderson.

Trinity, Troy: Hiram Saxton.

From Bishop Lee's address we quote:

"On Thursday, Sept. 10, after prayers by the Rev. Chas. Reynolds I preached in Trinity church, Lawrenceville, the sermon being designed to comfort those who were suffering from the awful calamity which had then just visited that devoted town. Since that time the Rev. Mr. Reynolds has resigned the parish at the place and has been devoting himself to a chaplaincy in the army. The Rev. R. W. Oliver, transferred February 29th from the Diocese of Pennsylvania, is now the rector of the parish. The Rev. N. O. Preston has resigned the charge of the parish and Seminary at Topeka, and is again rector of St. Paul's, Manhattan. Besides his duties in connection with the parish, he is a professor in the State Agricultural College.

The Rev. R. S. Nash has left Prairie City and is again rector of St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte.

The Parish in the city of Leavenworth has commenced the erection of a substantial and beautiful church, which is so far complete as to be now occupied by the congregation."

He urged the necessity of a resident bishop and that they now proceed to the election of one. In due time upon motion, the Bishop appointed as a committee to consider this subject: The Rev. Messrs. Preston, Stone, and Ryan, and Messrs. Bartholow and Nellis. This committee returned and moved "That we proceed to the election of a bishop for the Diocese of Kansas."

Pending this motion the Rev. Mr. Egar moved as a substitute, that the Convention appropriate the sum of \$2,500 as a salary for the Bishop when he shall be elected. The substitute was lost. The original motion was then put and carried.

The Rev. Mr. Nash nominated the Rev. M. A. DeWolf Howe, D. D., of Philadelphia.

"The Committee on the State of the Church beg leave to report: We would respectfully nominate the Rev. Thomas Hubbard Vail, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, Muscatine, Iowa, as one who is well worthy of our choice as Bishop of Kansas.

Signed, N. O. PRESTON.  
HIRAM STONE."

After a recess of fifteen minutes the Convention was then called to order and on motion of Rev. N. O. Preston spent a portion of time

in silent prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit before proceeding with the election of a bishop. After a space of time the Bishop offered a few appropriate collects from the Prayer Book.

A ballot being taken, the tellers reported that the vote cast was unanimous for the Rev. Thomas Hubbard Vail, D. D., and also that he had received the unanimous vote of the laity. Upon this announcement the Bishop invited the Convention to join him in prayer and thanksgiving. The Convention requested Bishop Lee to continue his relation with the Diocese till a successor was consecrated.

The Standing Committee elected was composed of: The Rev. Messrs. Stone, Nash, and Oliver, and Messrs. G. W. Anderson, G. W. Nellis, and Geo. H. Fairchild.

The Rev. N. O. Preston resigned as Trustee of the Topeka Female Seminary and the Rev. R. W. Oliver was elected in his place. The Rev. Mr. Nash moved that the Trustees of Heber Institute be instructed to dispose of the building and after paying all legal demands against the Institution, to appropriate the balance toward establishing an institution of learning connected with the Church at Wyandotte. Mr. Hickcox amended in favor of St. Andrew's, Burlington. The Rev. Mr. Stone moved a substitute to appoint a committee to sell it, pay all claims and turn the balance over to the Treasurer of the Diocese. The question being taken on Mr. Hickcox's amendment it carried. But the Bishop-elect secured a stay of execution. But this was the end of parish and Institute in Prairie City which was one mile from Baldwin and Baker University.

As this closes the first epoch of the history of the Diocese one may sum up the situation.

*Atchison, Trinity Church:* The Rev. J. E. Ryan just resigning as rector and missionary, reported: Communicants, 19; S. S. scholars, 20; S. S. teachers, 5.

A debt of \$500 on the rectory paid off. There were also two lots which cost \$900 and hopes of building a fine church.

*Fort Scott* made no report. Chaplain Reynolds is there and his hands full with caring for the 200 refugees with only old cast-off tents for shelter.

*Burlington, St. Andrew's:* Rev. W. H. Hickcox rector, reports: Families, 17; communicants, 13.

A festival gives him \$69 to furnish a room for services. He has held four services in Emporia where some 40 or 50 people will attend services of this Church if established.

*Troy, Trinity Church:* The Rev. Mr. Ryan about to depart, reports: Communicants, 11.

*Lawrence, Trinity Church*: Rev. R. W. Oliver, rector, reports: Accepted the call November, 1863. It then numbered 13 families and 11 communicants who had survived the massacre of August 21st, 1863. By March four of these families had moved away, leaving nine families and eight communicants. There are now: Families, 23; communicants, 21; S. S. scholars, 51; S. S. teachers, 6.

The parish contributes \$250 per annum on rector's salary. For other purposes, \$89.35.

*Leavenworth, Church of St. Paul*: Rev. John H. Egar, B. D., rector. Families, 51; individuals, 10; communicants, 30; contributions for Domestic Missions, \$3.00; contribution for erection of new church, etc., including rector's salary 15 mos., \$8,285.00; contributions from friends in the east for new church, \$1,675.00.

*Ft. Leavenworth*: Rev. Hiram Stone, chaplain. Communicants, 15.

*Topeka, Grace Church*: Rev. N. O. Preston reports: Communicants, 25.

*Manhattan, St. Paul's*: Upon Mr. Preston's return March 7 he found but 4 communicants left.

*Wyandotte, St. Paul's Church*: Rev. R. S. Nash, rector and missionary. Communicants, 9; S. S. scholars, 20; S. S. teachers, 4; families, 9. Total number of communicants reported, 147.

It is impossible to make an estimate of families and other individuals connected with the parishes and missions. It is evident that with possibly two exceptions these parishes were only worthy of the status of missions, and therefore were not in a position to appropriate the \$2,500 towards a bishop's salary as moved by the Rev. John H. Egar. We would note that the following parishes had been abandoned: St. Mark's, Elwood; St. Luke's, Lecompton; Emmanuel, Olathe; Covenant, Osawatomie; St. Paul's, Quindaro; St. John, Tecumseh, and Trinity, Wabaunsee.

Ten years have passed since the first missionary was sent by the Board of Missions. All of this time there was more or less bloodshed throughout the state because of the slavery question. By action of the few clergy in the preliminary Convention the Diocese was left to its own devices as to how they would be guided in their aggressive work. There were times when classes waited in vain for confirmation.

The various denominations were pushing their work and many of our people lost hope of their children being brought into the Church and rather than that they should grow up without religious influences allied themselves with these aggressive sects, particularly the Methodists, who were thoroughly organized and pushing out into every neigh-



borhood where a congregation could be gathered together. We did not hold our own and it were vain to tell of the influence of those antagonistic to set forms of service. But better things were now in store for the church.

END OF PART I.

## CALEB S. IVES, PIONEER MISSIONARY IN TEXAS

*By DuBose Murphy*

THREE clergymen might enter rival claims for the honored title of "first Episcopal Missionary to Texas." The Rev. Richard Salmon entered the Republic of Texas only a few months after the battle of San Jacinto and lived for a year or two near Brazoria. The Rev. R. M. Chapman landed in Galveston in November, 1838, and held services in Houston and Galveston during the winter of 1838-1839.<sup>1</sup> But neither of these men left any adequate record of his work and neither of them was able to endure the hardships and overcome the obstacles which confronted him. The real honors must go to the Reverend Caleb S. Ives, who came to Matagorda in December, 1838, labored there for nearly eleven years, and left behind him not only an established parish but also a Diocese to whose organization he had contributed much. We recognize him as our Pioneer Missionary.

The area which is now included in the State of Texas was for many years part of the Mexican nation. Few Mexicans, however, had settled north of the Rio Grande, and this vast domain presented an attractive field for colonization by citizens of the United States. The vision, patience, and ability of Stephen F. Austin made possible the opening of Texas and the settlement of hundreds of families, most of them Anglo-Americans, along the Colorado and Brazos Rivers.<sup>2</sup> In order to complete the economic organization of Texas, these settlers needed facilities for trade—for the importation of lumber and manufactured goods and for the export of cotton and other agricultural products. Travel by land was slow and expensive; and for this reason it seemed that the great rivers of Texas would become the most suitable arteries for commerce, and that towns at the mouths of these rivers would be the natural ports for the transfer of goods between river craft and sea-going vessels. Brazoria and Freeport were founded to serve the Brazos valley; and as early as 1820 the port of Matagorda at the mouth of the Colorado was mentioned in a description of Texas drawn up by the Ayun-

<sup>1</sup>See *Murphy, A Short History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas* (Dallas, 1935), pp. 1-6, for further particulars and citation of references.

<sup>2</sup>A scholarly, comprehensive, and interesting account of Austin's work is *E. C. Barker, The Life of Stephen F. Austin* (Nashville and Dallas, 1925); a short, more popular book is *The Father of Texas*, by the same author (Indianapolis, 1936).

tamiento (Council) of San Fernando de Bexar (now San Antonio).<sup>3</sup> The channel of the Colorado was obstructed by silt and debris, near its mouth; but it was confidently hoped and believed that this "raft" would soon be cleared away and that a flourishing port would speedily grow into the most prosperous city on the Gulf of Mexico.

Attracted by this opportunity, a goodly number of enterprising and substantial business men settled in Matagorda, built houses and stores, and established homes. But there was at least one thing missing, something which Anglo-Americans of the early nineteenth century valued highly—namely, a school in which their children could acquire that education which was the necessary equipment of a free man. Mexico, with different traditions, had felt no responsibility for providing schools in Texas.<sup>4</sup> But with the achievement of Texan independence, the more intelligent and cultured citizens of the new Republic began to devise plans for the establishment of schools and academies and to hunt for suitable teachers.

Some of the citizens of Matagorda had heard of the Rev. Caleb S. Ives, then Chaplain and Professor of Ancient Languages at Mobile Institute, Mobile, Alabama, and in 1838 they wrote to him, inviting him to come to Matagorda and become their school master. After considering this opportunity prayerfully, Mr. Ives not only accepted it, but he also wrote to the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, offering his services as a missionary to the people of the Republic of Texas. On September 25, 1838, the Foreign Committee appointed the Rev. Caleb S. Ives as a missionary, at a salary of \$500.00 per annum.<sup>5</sup> On December 12, 1838, Mr. Ives arrived in Matagorda, prepared to organize his school and to preach the Gospel.

Caleb Smith Ives had been born at Tinmouth, Vermont, on September 25, 1798.<sup>6</sup> He grew up as many New England boys did, amid the rigors of a severe climate and the hardships of poverty. Yet "the very circumstance [he wrote later in his life] which in my case, most persons would count a great misfortune, was one of infinite importance and benefit to me; which was, my indigence. This taught me the worth of time; and stimulated me to application and exertion." His father supposed that the boy would become a farmer, and saw no

<sup>3</sup>*Barker, Readings in Texas History* (Dallas, 1929), pp. 55, 57.

<sup>4</sup>*See the Texas Declaration of Independence, in Ibid., p. 244.*

<sup>5</sup>*The Spirit of Missions, October, 1838, p. 326.*

<sup>6</sup>*The Manuscript Journal of the Rev. Caleb S. Ives has recently been placed in the hands of the Rt. Rev. Clinton S. Quin, Bishop of Texas, by Dr. Nathaniel H. Ives, of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., grandson of the pioneer missionary. Statements and quotations in the following pages, not otherwise documented, are from this invaluable source.*

reason why he needed to learn more than "reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic." But Caleb Ives was ambitious and determined. He "looked with eager eyes on those who enjoyed the advantages of education" and as soon as he was twenty-one years of age he took his education into his own hands.

Not only was he intellectually eager; he was also spiritually alive. His "parents were not professors of religion" and they gave him no religious instruction at home. But of his own accord he began to attend the Congregational Church in Tinmouth, and shortly before his twenty-third birthday he "determined to make, as a bounden duty, a public profession of faith in Christ." Besides the voice of conscience and of reason, "there was another consideration which led me to take this step. The peculiar circumstances of my father's family daily reminded me that there is but little earthly happiness, and that this little is neither satisfying nor enduring."

During his early twenties, Caleb Ives helped his father on the farm each summer, and spent the winter teaching a district school and studying with the local Congregational Minister. At the age of twenty-four he was offered a position in a school in Hampton, New York, and spent three winters in that place, returning each summer to help his father. It was there, in New York State, that he first made the acquaintance of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and he "soon became convinced of the divine institution and authority of [her] ministry, . . . of the primitive truth and order of her forms of prayer, and of the scriptural and spiritual tendency of her doctrines."

His earlier studies had looked towards the medical profession; but now, at the age of twenty-six, he decided to enter the ministry of the Church. He spent two summers at Derby, Connecticut, preparing for college under the guidance of the Rev. Stephen Jewett, returning each winter to his school teaching. In the fall of 1826 he entered Washington College (now Trinity) at Hartford. In those days most boys graduated from college before they were twenty. Caleb Ives was thirty-two when he received his degree in 1830. During his first year in Hartford he had so won the affection and admiration of the faculty that he was made the beneficiary of a newly established scholarship, which enabled him to complete his course without interruption.

While at college he had attracted the interest of the Rev. Levi Silliman Ives, then Rector of St. Luke's Church, New York City, and later Bishop of North Carolina. This clergyman invited him to come to New York and enter the General Theological Seminary, giving him the assurance that St. Luke's Parish would aid him financially. This made it possible for him to continue his preparation for the ministry,



and he graduated from the Seminary in 1833. He was ordered Deacon by Bishop Brownell of Connecticut on July 7, 1833, and advanced to the Priesthood on August 2nd of the same year. Bishop Brownell offered him any vacancy in the Diocese of Connecticut which he might select. His friend Dr. Ives, now Bishop of North Carolina, urged him to come to that Diocese. Both Bishop B. T. Onderdonk of New York and Bishop Henry Onderdonk of Pennsylvania also invited him to take work in their Dioceses. But the missionary spirit was strong within him and drove him forth into what must then have seemed like the wilderness of Alabama. He accepted an appointment from the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions, to work at Demopolis and Greensboro, Alabama, and began his ministry in that field on December 8, 1833.

On February 6, 1834, he married Miss Katharina Duncan Morison, then of Tuscaloosa, Ala. But he had known her in Hartford, while he was still a student, and had been engaged to her for seven years.

The work in Alabama was not without hardships and difficulties, although it also had many pleasant features. But the people did not pay the promised salary; and, far from being able to pay back any of the debts incurred in the course of obtaining his education, Mr. Ives found himself still further in debt. Accordingly he resolved to leave Demopolis and seek a better opportunity. After considering the possibility of establishing a school in New Orleans, he decided instead to go to Mobile. There, in December, 1835, he opened a school for young ladies, in which he and his wife taught for one year. In the fall of 1836, he became Chaplain and Professor of Ancient Languages in the Mobile Institute, a new school just founded by the Rev. Norman Pinney. While in Mobile, he frequently officiated in Christ Church, of which his sister's husband, the Rev. Samuel S. Lewis, was the Rector. It was there that he received the call to Matagorda, and in the fall of 1838 he set out for Texas with his wife and his three-year-old son, Angus Morison Ives. Two more children were born in Matagorda: Harriet Elizabeth, in 1839, and Hugh, in 1841.

The work which Mr. Ives found before him in Matagorda was congenial but arduous. Five days in the week he taught school. On Sundays he held the services of the church, which included a morning service with sermon, a Sunday School in the afternoon, followed by Evening Prayer. Artificial light was, of course, expensive and troublesome, and so the evening service was held before dark. Even in those days people did not throng to Evening Prayer, and Mr. Ives rarely preached at this service.

There was no other school and no other church in Matagorda at

that time. Mr. Ives was the educational and spiritual leader of the whole community. As the enrollment of the school grew, Mrs. Ives and other ladies assisted with the teaching, and this "Matagorda Academy" was considered by competent authority as one of the best in the Republic.<sup>7</sup>

On January 27, 1839, the congregation organized itself into a parish, under the title of "The Rector, Churchwardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church, Matagorda"—the first and as yet the only parish of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Republic of Texas. A few months later, Mr. Ives returned to the United States to raise funds for a church building. He not only secured enough money, but also bought the church itself in New York. Sawmills were scarce in Texas and there was little timber near Matagorda. So the church building was designed, cut and framed in New York, and then shipped in sections to Matagorda, as were many of the houses which were then being erected in Houston and Galveston. Early in 1840, Mr. Ives returned to his parish, and on October 14, 1840, the cornerstone of the new church was laid with impressive ceremonies attended by the Mayor, the City Marshal and Aldermen, and "a large concourse of the respectable citizens . . . and a number of elegantly dressed ladies." The first service in the church was held on Easter Day, April 11, 1841. The ladies of St. Philip's Church, Charleston, S. C. (a parish which most generously contributed to the building of the churches in Galveston and Houston also), gave Christ Church a communion service which was used for the first time on Christmas Day, 1842. On February 25, 1844, the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, then Bishop of Louisiana, came to Matagorda and consecrated Christ Church, the first Episcopal Church in Texas.<sup>8</sup>

Although there was a deplorable amount of indifference and lawlessness, yet the community of Matagorda was spiritually a happy and united family. This ecclesiastical peace was now and then threatened by the zealous enterprise of missionaries of other denominations—well meant, no doubt, but distressing not only to Mr. Ives but also to the more intelligent citizens, who doubtless felt that the obvious lack of culture and education revealed by these missionaries would discredit the cause of religion in the eyes of Matagorda's people. Mr. Ives recorded the comments of a friend who had heard one of these preachers, "weak-minded and uneducated," say that "Paul addressed a huge congregation at Athens which included Demosthenes, Plato, and Protagoras."

But the citizens as a whole appreciated Mr. Ives and loved him.

<sup>7</sup>Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (New York, 1925), p. 99.

<sup>8</sup>For further details and references, see Murphy, *A Short History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas*, pp. 1-3.

He was an active Mason; and when the news of his death in Vermont reached Matagorda, his Masonic brothers arranged a memorial service in his honor. The tribute of the orator on that occasion, Mr. J. C. McGonigal, as published in *The Colorado Tribune*, is a sincere and adequate expression of the esteem in which Mr. Ives was held, and these words well describe the influence which he exerted.

"His advent into the place was soon followed by a marked change in the tone of society and manners and morals of the people. . . . His generous temper, his warm affections, the elevation and simplicity of his life and conversation, the urbanity of his manner, and the cordial sympathy of his daily greetings, threw a charm over his intercourse with all around him, and did much in forming our social circle, one of the most civil and refined in the State."<sup>9</sup>

This influence was exerted not only through church and school, but also through diligent pastoral work and open-hearted hospitality. Many are the guests whose names appear in the pages of his Journal—names which still carry meaning in Matagorda County—Sartwelle, Dinsmore, McNab, Ward, McCamley, Rugeley and others whose descendants are still among us. Others came from a greater distance. Of these, the most notable was Mrs. James F. Perry, sister of Stephen F. Austin. Mrs. Perry was a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church, confirmed by the illustrious Bishop William White of Pennsylvania. On March 24, 1843, she had tea with the Rev. and Mrs. Ives, and on the first Sunday in April she received the Holy Communion in Christ Church, Matagorda.

As visitors came to Mr. Ives, so he also diligently visited other communities, so far as his strength and duties would permit. He was the first clergyman of our Church to officiate in Austin (October, 1840); he visited Mrs. Perry at San Felipe in 1843; he traveled to Velasco, McNeill's, Quintana, Brazoria and other places, including the ill-fated town of Indianola on the western shore of Matagorda Bay.

In addition to these efforts to extend the Church, his ability was also devoted to the perplexing task of drawing the Episcopal churches of Texas into closer affiliation. On April 8, 1843, he landed in Galveston to consult with the Rev. Benjamin Eaton of that city and the Rev. Charles Gillette of Houston, on the possibility of an organization of the Church in Texas. After some discussion, it was agreed to hold a second meeting in Matagorda in May, and Mr. Ives spent most of the intervening month in drawing up Constitution, Canons, and Liturgy for the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas. But Mr. Eaton seems

<sup>9</sup>*The Colorado Tribune* (Matagorda, Texas), October 15, 1849.

to have opposed the plan for a formal organization, and the only result of this meeting was to appoint a "Committee of Correspondence" to appeal to the Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States for aid and counsel. But this meeting was not the last. In 1844 and again in 1847 the formation of a diocese was discussed. And at last, on January 1, 1849, a Convention met in Christ Church, Matagorda, and officially organized the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Texas.

Mr. Ives' health had begun to fail in 1848. And at last "he was constrained to leave his post and seek renewed strength for his Master's work in his native air of Vermont."<sup>10</sup> But the purpose of that journey was not fulfilled, and on July 27, 1849, he died at Tinmouth, Vermont, in the fifty-first year of his age.

What manner of man was this Pioneer Missionary? His portrait, recently given to the Diocese of Texas, by his grandson, Dr. Nathaniel H. Ives, of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., shows a striking union of firmness and kindness in his countenance. He must have been a man of great personal charm and genuine ability. The interest in his welfare displayed by the faculty of Trinity College, and the invitations to serve in the Dioceses of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and North Carolina, as soon as he was ordained, would indicate the impression which he made upon his elders. And the evident loyalty and affection of the people of Matagorda testify to the hold which he had upon their hearts.

His Journal suggests to me that much over-worked adjective "human." He loved his children; he recorded the first tooth of his little son Hugh, aged six months; he noted with pleasure "the first symptom of the development of a taste for music" in his son Angus, then almost seven years old. The illnesses and calamities which came to his neighbors touched his sympathies deeply. He was delighted by the luxuriant greenness of Texas in the spring and by the beauty of the wild flowers. He eagerly noted the weather, in the great varieties which came to Texas. Every "norther" was recorded on a special page set apart for each winter—its duration and the temperature resulting. The sudden rains which left the streets of Matagorda under several inches of water made a deep impression on the mind which had been formed among the rocky hillsides of Vermont.

He was a brave man—not with the aggressive daring of the adventurer, but with that determined, tight-lipped courage which one associates with New England. He kept at his work in spite of physical ailments and poverty. Sometimes he was tempted to yield to the discouragements of a seemingly indifferent and unresponsive congregation. But

<sup>10</sup>*The Spirit of Missions, September, 1849, p. 331.*



when, in 1846, he was called to the rectorship of St. James' Church, Livingston, Alabama, at a salary of \$800.00 a year, he replied: "I will not leave [Matagorda] so long as I can get bread for my family." The next year the vestry of Christ Church increased his salary from \$500.00 to \$600.00 a year.

That he was serious-minded and pious goes almost without saying. The evangelical clergyman of the early Nineteenth Century felt his responsibilities deeply and expressed them earnestly. But, as I read his Journal, I believe that the difference between him and us is one of language rather than of emotion:

"Jan. 11th, 1842. This is the birthday of my little daughter Harriet Elizabeth. May God bless her; and if He spares her to arrive at years of maturity, my great desire and first prayer is that she may, by His good Spirit, become prepared for His heavenly kingdom. Grant, O Lord, that she may live to Thy glory, and the good of her fellow-creatures. She is to-day three years old."

"Jan. 17th. Preached yesterday on the subject of keeping holy the Lord's [Day?] The state of society is a subject of painful reflection and anxiety. Paul may plant and Apollos water, but it is indeed God only who gives the increase. I see a community around me who now have nothing else to do but attend to the salvation of their souls, but that is nevertheless almost the only thing which they appear to think unimportant. O how little of true religion there is in this country, which in climate and other natural advantages is one of the most favoured on the face of the globe."

In our own hearts, how often the events and conditions of today arouse the same feelings as lie behind these words.

He was a keen and interested observer of his times. Much as he loved Texas, he was fully aware of the weaknesses as well as the glories of her independence. Every stage of the negotiations leading towards annexation to the United States was noted in his Journal, with expressions of thankfulness. And at Morning Prayer on Sunday, January 11, 1846, he used the prayer for the President of the United States for the first time in Christ Church, Matagorda.

He was fully aware of the clergyman's responsibility as an intellectual leader. Often he wrote regretfully that the pressure of his work as school-master was interfering with his own studies. But when the school term ended in the spring, he would set himself to the task of reading each day one hour of Hebrew, one hour of Greek, and one hour of Latin through the summer. Although he did not have the facilities for wide reading or for technical scholarship, yet he was a

scholar by nature, and he strove to serve his Lord with mind as well as with heart.

Chiefly I am impressed by the man's very genuine stability. He had a level head. Rumors floated across the plains of Texas like the wind and the rain—Mexican invasions, Indian raids, etc., etc. They appear in his Journal with the placid comment: "but it is too improbable, in my opinion, to be believed." And a few days later, more accurate tidings would prove that he was right. Not only did he keep his head, he also kept his feet from wandering and stayed at his post. With the exception of the Rev. Benjamin Eaton, who served thirty years in Galveston, no other clergyman of our Church in Texas devoted himself to one parish so long and so faithfully during those trying times. The Rev. Caleb S. Ives' eleven years in Matagorda are further evidence of his stability, and of his courage, his devotion to man, and his love of God.

## THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN CUBA

*By Bishop Hiram H. Hulse*

THE first services of the Church according to the Anglican rite appear to have been held at a time when Guantanamo Bay was in possession of British troops; later when Havana was occupied by the British regular services were conducted in the church of San Francisco, now used as a general post-office. There is also a record of a service held in 1868 in a private room of an Havana hotel and conducted by the Rev. Dr. Milo Mahan of Baltimore.

In the year 1871 the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions requested the Rt. Rev. Henry B. Whipple, Bishop of Minnesota, to visit the mission in Hayti. He journeyed by way of Havana and found there was no Protestant church in the whole of Cuba though there was a large resident population of English, Germans and Americans.

The bishop conducted service on board the U. S. man-of-war *Swatara* and the following Sunday in the rooms of the British Consul-General. The Sunday after he officiated in the German consulate. These, he notes, were the first public Protestant services held in Havana. He writes:

“During my visit I administered Holy Communion to communicants of the Church who had not received it for twelve years. I baptized and confirmed a dying Confederate officer, and held several baptismal services. I met many American citizens who were longing for the services of the Church, and many members of the Roman Catholic Church expressed their desire to see the Church established in Cuba.”\*

On his return to the United States the bishop raised funds and on the recommendation of Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, the Rev. Edward Kenney of Nashotah was sent to Havana in November, 1871, where he became the first resident Protestant minister in Cuba.

He arrived at a time of social and political unrest. Cuba was making a concerted effort to throw off the Spanish yoke and the appearance of a clergyman who was not of the Roman church was by no means welcome to the Spanish authorities. Mr. Kenney, however,

\*Whipple. *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*, p. 359.

was wise enough to abstain alike from meddling with politics and from attacking the Romanists. He confined his attention to ministering to the Protestant foreigners residing in Havana. For nearly a year he held his services on board the U. S. monitor *Terror*, then stationed in the harbor, and later in the saloon of the Hotel Pasaje. Owing to his devotion to the sick and dying the Civil Governor gave him permission to use a hospital for sick foreigners and he also succeeded in establishing a Protestant cemetery where the prayers of the Church could be said over her dead. He made occasional visits to Matanzas and Cardenas.

At that time Havana was notoriously unhealthy. Mr. Kenney himself was twice stricken with yellow fever and much of his work consisted in ministering to the sick. In 1876 the record shows that he made 2,700 calls and buried 125 in the Protestant cemetery.

Not having been officially appointed by the Board of Missions Mr. Kenney was dependent for his own support and that of his work on the help of interested folk at home and at times he was hard pressed. In 1878 the Cuba Church Missionary Guild was organized in the United States.

The Constitution of the Guild contains the following statement of principles, which have been followed by the mission ever since, except that the Chinese work was never taken up:

"To minister: (1) to all permanent foreign residents, irrespective of nationality; (2) to officers and seamen of the Merchant Marine; (3) to officers and seamen, and all others who may be lying sick at our Foreign Hospital; (4) to all coolies and Chinese residents in the island; (5) to all the unbaptized and uncared for."

At the end of nine years he was compelled by ill health to return to the United States. He was succeeded by the Reverend Edward A. Edgerton, who after two years was compelled by lack of funds to abandon his work.

So closed the first chapter of our work in Cuba. It had been characterized by the most unselfish devotion to the poor and sick and underprivileged, and is one of the brightest episodes of our missionary enterprise.

The next chapter opens in the United States. Many Cuban refugees found their way to the United States during the struggle between Cuban revolutionaries and the Spanish government. In the North they were thrown into contact with a form of religion unknown to them in their native land. To many of them it seemed more in accord with their longing for political freedom.



Many of them found their way into the parish churches in the vicinity of their residence. In New York, Philadelphia, and Key West, services were started in their own tongue and considerable congregations were built up. In Philadelphia especially, much interest was developed and a large congregation was gathered together by the Reverend Parmenio Anaya. This resulted later on in the formation of the Cuban Guild in the diocese of Pennsylvania which was of great help in the support of the work.

The congregation in Key West was in charge of the Reverend Juan B. Baez. There was a nascent congregation in Matanzas, Cuba, under the charge of Mr. Pedro Duarte, a layreader. This congregation requested Mr. Baez to visit them for the purpose of administering the sacraments. This he did, so the work of the Church among the Cubans in Cuba was started by the Cubans themselves.

On his return to Florida Mr. Baez spoke to his Bishop about the opportunities in Cuba and asked him to visit the field. Bishop Young did this in February, 1884, when he confirmed 116 in Havana and Matanzas. He came again the next February, when he confirmed 156.

After this second visit Bishop Young was so filled with enthusiasm for the opportunities in Cuba that he went to New York to plead with the Board of Missions for adequate support for the work. He died in New York, worn out with fatigue and disappointment because he could not secure the needed support.

In 1886 the work in Cuba was placed under the charge of Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania, who organized the ladies' Cuban Guild to help him in the support of the mission. He also ordained Mr. Pedro Duarte and sent him to Matanzas to take charge of the work there.

Mr. Duarte was arrested by the Spanish authorities for conducting Protestant worship. He appealed to Spain, as the new constitution in Spain permitted freedom of worship. The Minister of Colonies issued a decree permitting such freedom in Cuba:

"I therefore make known to you, by his Majesty's royal order, and enjoin you to observe the same on that island; The meetings which may be celebrated within the temples and the cemeteries, whether they be Protestant or Catholic, shall enjoy the constitutional inviolability, so far as they do not trespass against the police regulations, or committ any of the offenses punishable by the penal code."

So finally religious liberty was obtained in Cuba and it became possible to preach the gospel freely.

On Bishop Stevens' death Bishop Whitaker, his successor, took

the oversight of the mission. He made his first visit to Cuba in 1889. He confirmed 38 persons in Havana and 48 in Matanzas. This same year the Cuban Guild purchased the building in Matanzas which we now use as a rectory. Later a chapel was erected in what used to be the patio of the rectory. This is our oldest mission in the island.

Bishop Whitaker appealed to the American Church Missionary Society to become financially responsible for the work in Cuba. The Society finally adopted the work and asked the Cuban Guild in Philadelphia to act as its auxiliary.

The first act of the Society was to appoint the Reverend Manuel F. Moreno as a missionary in Cuba. Mr. Moreno was a native Cuban, who had been educated in New York and ordained by the Bishop of New York. He reached Havana in 1889. In 1892 both Mr. Moreno and Mr. Duarte were advanced to the priesthood, and thus the Church was equipped to administer the sacraments with two native priests.

The next year the Missionary Society appointed the Reverend Arthur H. Mellen as its first foreign missionary. He was expected to minister to English speaking people and to have general oversight over the entire field.

So the work was advancing with much promise when in February, 1895, the Revolution broke out. Mr. Duarte was accused of being a revolutionist and had to flee to Tampa. Mr. Mellen had yellow fever and had to go home to recuperate. Mr. Moreno went to New York and organized a Spanish speaking congregation there.

The only mission that remained open during these troublous times was Calvario mission, Jesus del Monte, Havana, under the charge of Sr. Ramon Pena, a layman. But the organized work among the Cubans went on; only it was removed to the United States. The increasing army of refugees there found their Cuban ministers on hand to receive them, and they were kept in the Church even during their period of exile. When they were able to return to Cuba their ministers returned with them.

With the first American occupation other evangelical bodies entered the field. The outcome of the war had completely changed the situation in Cuba. Cuban industries were destroyed, the people were poverty stricken, opportunities for work were lacking. The people had been gathered into reconcentration camps and when they were released there was no place for them to go. Children had been separated from their parents, and in many cases did not know what had become of them.

When Mr. Duarte returned to Matanzas he found a number of these destitute children and started to care for them as best he could. In Bolondron also several were being cared for in the house of Dr.

Ferdandez, a member of the church. In Havana Mrs. Farres, a devout member of the Church, had gathered a number together and was caring for them. These three groups were united and an orphanage was started in Matanzas in an old sugar warehouse. It had room for sixty and was full from the start.

This required a considerable sum of money for its support. The Cuban Guild in Philadelphia under the leadership of Mrs. Daniel S. Merritt undertook to raise sufficient money to keep it going. She was assisted by Mrs. Farres in Havana. These names must be mentioned in any history of the early work of the Church in Cuba after the war was over. For these two good women were responsible, under God, for much of the best work that was done in those early years.

Other opportunities also came pressing upon the Church. Many colonists from North America came to Cuba. In the Isle of Pines many Americans established their homes. With the opening of the Cuba Railroad from Santa Clara eastward to Santiago, many smaller colonies of English speaking people sprang up along its line. One of the most important of these was La Gloria, and here the Church was started by laymen from Canada. Judge Margery became layreader and read services long before a minister appeared.

With the revival of the sugar industry which took place with the help of American capital, many large sugar mills were started. At that time there were not enough Cuban laborers to do the manual work in the fields and around the mills. The English speaking islands to the south were overpopulated, and many workmen were brought to Cuba to do the hard work in the mill. The majority of these immigrants belonged to the Church of England and constituted a responsibility of the Episcopal Church. The result was that as soon as things got started again after the war three different kinds of work confronted our small mission: The original work in Spanish among the Cubans, work in English for North Americans, and work in English for British West Indians.

The Church Missionary Society sent the Reverend Dr. Neilson to Cuba on a tour of inspection as soon as the war was over. As a result of his report the Rev. W. H. McGee was sent as a missionary. The American army of occupation gave him the use of a warehouse in Havana and services were started in English. The American occupation brought many families from the United States to Havana and many American businessmen came flocking in so that the English speaking colony grew rapidly.

The field was ripe for the reaping but the workers were few. Mr. Moreno was recalled from Mexico by the Missionary Society and Mr. Duarte returned from Tampa. They made a trip together

through the Province of Matanzas and everywhere found people ready to hear them. Due to the lack of workers they had to confine their efforts to Havana, Matanzas, and Bolondron, with occasional visits to smaller villages in the neighborhood.

In January, 1900, Bishop Whitaker visited the field again. He brought with him the Reverend Andrew T. Sharpe. Mr. McGee had suffered from an attack of yellow fever and needed a period of rest, so Mr. Sharpe took up the work in Havana.

Bishop Whitaker visited all the missions and confirmed 236 persons in all. He also received Jose Ramon Peña as a candidate for Holy Orders. Mr. Peña had kept the mission in Jesus del Monte going all through the dark days of the revolution. He was ordered deacon in December, 1900, in Philadelphia and placed in charge of the mission he had ministered to so faithfully during the war.

At the General Convention held in San Francisco in October, 1901, Cuba was made a Foreign Missionary District of the Church. No bishop was elected, but the new district was placed in charge of Bishop Van Buren, on his consecration as Bishop of Porto Rico.

Bishop Van Buren made his first visit in September, 1902. On this visit he confirmed Emilio Planas y Hernandez, a negro teacher educated in Key West, where he had been a refugee during the war. Mr. Planas became a layreader and candidate for Holy Orders and was sent to Matanzas, where he opened a school.

Meanwhile the orphanage in Matanzas had been given up. Most of the girls had found homes and those who were left were brought to Havana, and placed in charge of Mrs. Farres, who rented a house for them and gradually found good homes for them so that in 1904 the orphanage was disbanded.

Bishop Van Buren made his second visitation in May, 1904. During this visitation he ordained Sr. Planas as deacon in San Pablo, Bolondron. This was the first ordination of the Church in the island of Cuba.

Bishop Darlington, then rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn, brought a party of visitors to Cuba in the winter of 1904 on a tour of inspection for the Church Missionary Society. As a result of this visit the present mission property at Jesus del Monte was purchased. The writer of this article, then secretary of the Church Missionary Society, was sent to Cuba in July, 1904. His specific errand was to close up the affairs of the orphanage, but he also held services for the Americans in Havana and gathered their opinions on the questions at issue. As a result it was determined by the Society to leave the field as free as possible for the action of the General Convention which was to meet



in Boston that autumn. American workers were withdrawn and only Mr. Moreno and Mr. Planas were left to hold the fort.

*Cuba with a Bishop of its Own.*

The American Church Missionary Society appealed to the General Convention which met in Boston in October, 1904, to send a Bishop to Cuba. The appeal met with a favorable reception, and the House of Bishops elected the Reverend Albion W. Knight, then dean of the Cathedral in Atlanta, Ga. Dr. Knight was consecrated in St. Philip's Cathedral, Atlanta, on December 21, 1904, and soon after left for his new field.

His consecration gave a fresh impulse to the work, and a number of clergymen volunteered to go to the field with him. Four were selected: The Rev. Messrs. Charles B. Colmore, now Bishop of Porto Rico; Charles M. Sturges, William W. Steel and Juan B. Mancebo.

Mr. Mancebo was a native Cuban of Siboney Indian ancestry, born in Santiago de Cuba, but brought to the United States as a young boy, educated there, and ordained as deacon by the Bishop of South Carolina. Bishop Knight sent him to his native city, Santiago, and he has remained there ever since, and is now one of the most respected citizens of the community. As a result of his quiet and faithful work he has two churches, two school buildings and one rectory to his credit and the gratitude of innumerable souls whom he has helped through difficulties and temptations.

The Church Missionary Society had little money on hand to pay these new stipends. But the venture was made and sufficient money came in to keep the work going for the time. Meanwhile an appeal was made to the board of managers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society to take over all the foreign work of the Church Missionary Society in Brazil and Mexico, as well as Cuba. After some negotiations this appeal was granted and the missionary work of the Church was united under the official Society, the Church Missionary Society remaining only as a holding corporation to guard its investments for the use of the official Board. This was one of the great indirect gains of the election of a Bishop for Cuba.

Bishop Knight arrived in Havana on January 5th, 1905. He received a warm reception from the American colony and was greeted cordially by the Cuban government. The other members of the mission, accompanied by their families, arrived soon after.

On January 19th the first conference of the mission was held, attended by the Bishop and the Reverend Messrs. Colmore, Moreno,

Planas, Steel, Sturges, Mayer and Frazer; at this meeting the following articles were adopted as constituting the policy of the Mission:

- (a) To seek out the American and English residents;
- (b) To shepherd the shepherdless of whatever nationality;
- (c) To provoke to good works the old Church in the island and the different missionary organizations at work in Cuba;
- (d) To teach Christianity as this Church has received the same, without rancor to others and without apology for our mission.

At this meeting the Reverend Mr. Frazer, a Congregational missionary, was accepted as a candidate for Holy Orders.

Immediately after, the workers were assigned to their respective fields. Mr. Steel became archdeacon of Havana; Mr. Colmore was given the work in the Chapel in Havana; Mr. Frazer went to Calvario Mission, Jesus del Monte; Mr. Moreno to Bolondron; Mr. Planas to Matanzas; Mr. Sturges to Sagua la Grande; Mr. Mancebo to his native city, Santiago de Cuba; and Mr. Mayer, who was familiar with Spanish, became the Bishop's chaplain and secretary.

Mr. Planas was the only one who had been ordained in Cuba, so he was the only clergyman canonically connected with the district. The others sent for letters dimissory and Cuba soon had a body of clergy of its own.

On the Bishop's arrival many petitions awaited him from various parts of the island asking for the establishment of missions: Some from Cubans who had become familiar with the Church during their years of exile; many from English speaking colonists. There were not enough workers to satisfy all of these demands and the first responsibility seemed to be to the English speaking colonists. They were strangers in a strange land and ought not to be allowed to drift away from their old religious habits. Moreover their example would be a potent influence over their Cuban neighbors, who would look upon them as typical of North American life in general. Therefore it was determined that while the existing Spanish speaking work would be maintained and extended, the first obligation of the mission was to minister to the English speaking people who were crowding into the island.

Bishop Knight spent a few weeks in Havana organizing the congregation of Holy Trinity Chapel, then worshipping in a store on the Prado. He soon saw that to give this work stability it needed a building of its own. Since the work had been started it had moved from house to house, the congregation had worshipped in at least a dozen different places, and the members did not know how long they might be permitted to use the store they now rented.

The Bishop called a meeting of interested laymen. Twenty-two responded. They met in the Bishop's home just one month after he landed. The meeting determined that a cathedral was necessary in Havana. Several thousand dollars were subscribed, and a ways and means committee was appointed by the Bishop. This started the movement which finally resulted in the building of Holy Trinity Cathedral.

At the end of February the Bishop started on his visitation trip. This took him to the east as far as Guantanamo. Here he found a number of English speaking members of the Church and a school and home for poor children which had been founded and supported by Mrs. Brooks. The burden of support was becoming increasingly heavy and Mrs. Brooks desired to turn this institution over to the Church that its future might be assured.

Bishop Knight accepted it and promised to send a clergyman there as soon as one could be found.

In Santiago Mr. Mancebo had begun work in his own house. Here he had fitted out a chapel, building much of the furniture with his own hands. There were many British West Indians in Santiago, so that it was necessary from the beginning to have two services, one in English and one in Spanish. Before Mr. Mancebo's arrival, English services had been held by Mr. Henriques, a Jamaican, who had been attached to the Army of occupation as a dispenser of drugs. Mr. Henriques continued as layreader until his death thirty years after.

On the return trip the province of Camaguey was visited. This was the most sparsely settled province and there were many Americans scattered about in small colonies, and one very large colony at La Gloria.

The colonists at La Gloria had started church services on their arrival under the leadership of Judge Marguery of Canada. It is interesting to note that these early English speaking services had all been started by laymen. The one in Santiago by a layman from Jamaica, the one in La Gloria by a layman from Canada, thus emphasizing from the beginning the priesthood of the laity in the Anglican Communion.

As a result of the visit of the Bishop, Mr. Sturges was moved to Camaguey and made archdeacon of Central Cuba. Presently he secured a place of worship in the city of Camaguey and services were begun there. Later he visited Ceballos, a flourishing American colony sixty miles west of Camaguey, and started a mission there. At the end of the year there were four missions in the province to which he ministered: La Gloria, Camaguey, Nuevitas and Ceballos.

Meanwhile the mission had been placing foundations in Havana.

The cathedral school was opened in October, 1905, in the Vedado, the section of Havana where most of the Americans lived. This evidently satisfied a great need as it met with considerable patronage from the start. In the beginning intended especially for English speaking children it now has three-quarters of its patronage from Cubans.

In December, 1905, a plot of ground for the cathedral was purchased in the center of Havana at a cost of \$18,826.05. Ten thousand dollars of this had been given by Mr. George C. Thomas, the treasurer of the Board of Missions. Most of the rest had been collected by the American Church Missionary Society.

Archdeacon Steel had been scouting around in various places in the Western end of the island during the year and as a result of his efforts regular work was started on the Isle of Pines.

Bishop Knight's second year opened with the first convocation of the district held on January 10, 1906, in the city of Havana. It was in session three days, and eight clergymen and six lay delegates were present. The members all realized that while they were an integral part of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America they were initiating what might grow into a sister Church of the Anglican Communion, and that they were a part of the Catholic Church of Christ. Their deliberations were marked by a sense of responsibility for the various parts of the work, English and Spanish. Five of the members of the convocation were native Cubans.

The reports presented at this convocation showed that the Church was working in eighteen mission stations. During the year there had been 50 baptisms and fifty-seven confirmations; 452 communicants were reported and 437 Sunday School children. This showed considerable growth, but the greatest growth was intangible. It was in the sense of stability which came from having a bishop, and an organized work.

During this second year Dr. John W. Wood, the secretary of the Board of Missions, visited Cuba and went with the Bishop as far East as Guantánamo, not only visiting organized missions but looking over the field for possible extensions of the work.

On May 13, 1906, Mr. Frazer was ordained to the priesthood and Jose Maria Lopez Guillen was ordered deacon. Mr. Lopez Guillen was sent to Guantánamo where he was instrumental in securing the ground on which our church was erected. He has had the pleasure of seeing the work which he inaugurated grow until now the Church owns a beautiful church, a rectory, and two schools, one for Cubans and one for Jamaicans.

The contract for building the cathedral was signed and the work began in the late fall of 1906.



During this year a revolution broke out which hindered the progress of the work in the country, and brought about the second American intervention, in October, 1906. The American army came down once more and brought many Americans in its train. This added to our responsibilities and complicated the work. It also brought additional helpers, as some of the army chaplains were ministers of the Church. One of these, Mr. Brander, started the mission in Cienfuegos.

Bishop Knight's third year started with the second annual convocation held on January 9, 1907, in Havana. The second day was made jubilant by the laying of the cornerstone of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Havana. Sixteen vested clergymen took part in the service. Addresses in English were made by the Bishop, Mr. E. G. Harris and the Hon. Chas. E. Magoon, Provisional Governor of Cuba, and in Spanish by Reverend Messrs. Moreno and Morrell.

The following Sunday the Reverend Messrs. J. M. Lopez Guillen, J. B. Mancebo and Emilio Planas were advanced to the priesthood and Srs. Francisco Diaz Volero and Francis de Sales Carroll were ordered deacons. All the clergy had remained after the convocation to be present at this ordination. Cuba now had a considerable body of clergy, the majority having been ordained by its own bishop, and it was beginning to stand on its own feet.

During this year the new church at la Gloria was opened, much to the joy of the people who had struggled long to obtain the building. The industrial school in Matanzas was moved to Limonar and Mr. Planas started a mission in Limonar with an auxiliary chapel in Coliseo. On the removal of Mr. Planas from Matanzas the work there was placed in charge of Reverend Francisco Diaz Volero. Sr. Diaz was enterprising and active and established missions in Cardenas, Colon and Los Arabos.

In this year also the hoped for theological seminary was opened in Calvario Mission, Jesus del Monte. It was placed in charge of the Reverend A. T. Sharpe, as warden, with Messrs. Steel, Colmore and Morell as professors. Three of the present clergy in the district received their theological training here and two others were ordained and have since gone to their reward. A number of others started but fell by the wayside.

The General Convention met in Richmond in the fall of 1907 and here the House of Bishops approved the constitution and canons of the new missionary district, thus completing the organization.

The year 1908 brought great changes to Cuba. Under the auspices of the American Government an election was held in November and Jose Miguel Gomez was elected President. He was a member of the

Liberal party which had led the uprising against the government two years before. He was not inaugurated until the next January, but the task of the American army came to an end with his election and they gradually began to withdraw from the country.

For the Church the great event was the opening of Holy Trinity Cathedral on Palm Sunday, April 12, 1908. The building was not yet fully completed and furnished, but it was ready for use. At the opening service there were some present who had attended Bishop Whipple's service thirty-seven years before and there were many who had been ministered to by the Reverend Edward Kenney. The ark of the Lord which had been wandering around for so many years had now found a permanent resting place. Those who had hoped and labored for so many years to that end had their hearts uplifted as they entered into their beautiful new building. There was a heavy mortgage, but they felt that they could take care of that while they were using it for worship.

The following year, 1909, the convocation was held in June instead of January. This change was made to promote the convenience of those attending, and for the benefit of the work. The winter, being the dry season in Cuba, is the time when the work is most active and when the workers ought to be in their respective fields and not up in Havana. When the wet weather begins it is more difficult to carry on the services with regularity and the absence of the missionary during his attendance at convocation is not so detrimental to the work.

This convocation shows substantial increase in the number of workers. The Reverend Vicente A. Tuzzio had been ordered deacon in June, 1908, and the Reverend Messrs. C. B. Ackley and C. E. Snavelly had been received into the district. The Reverend Francisco Diaz Volero had been ordained to the priesthood in January, 1908. That meant that three new workers had been added to the staff.

There had also been advance materially. A new chapel had been opened at Bacuranao, a few miles east of Havana, the gift of an American layman living in the place. The Bishop's house had also been built, the money having been given through the Men's Thank Offering which had been presented at the General Convention in Richmond in 1907. This was a comfortable and well located house and indicated the permanence of the work. With a cathedral and a bishop's house in Havana, a church building going up in Guantanamo, and five smaller buildings belonging to the Church in the country, the mission was established on a firm basis.

During this convocational year Bishop Knight had been placed in charge of the work in the Canal Zone and from that time on his responsibilities in the West Indies increased. In 1912 he was also

placed in charge of two vacant missionary districts, Porto Rico and Haiti. Cuba could no longer receive his undivided attention. But the work was so well established that it kept going on its own momentum.

In June, 1913, Bishop Knight was elected vice-chancellor of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn. At the next meeting of the House of Bishops his resignation was accepted, but the Presiding Bishop requested him to remain in charge of the district until his successor was consecrated. Bishop Knight was in charge of the district for exactly ten years. They were years of laying foundations. When he came to Cuba he found one priest and one native deacon at work. He brought with him three foreign missionaries and another soon arrived. Presently he started a seminary for the education of a native ministry. This was closed in 1913 when the appropriations ran out. When he left at the end of ten years there were ten foreign missionaries and eight native clergy. At the last convocation over which he presided delegates from eleven organized missions were present. At his first convocation 453 communicants and 437 Sunday School scholars were reported, and there were 52 confirmations and 41 baptisms during the year. At his last convocation 1,677 communicants and 1,237 Sunday School scholars were reported, and there were 25 confirmations and 303 baptisms during the year.

Thus closed the second chapter in our history.

Bishop Knight's successor was chosen at a special meeting of the House of Bishops held in Minneapolis in October, 1914. Their choice was the Reverend Hiram R. Hulse, archdeacon of New York. Mr. Hulse had been the secretary of the American Church Missionary Society and in that capacity had visited Cuba in 1904. It was his report to the General Convention sitting as a Board of Missions in Boston in October, 1904, which led to the election of a Bishop for Cuba at that General Convention. He was consecrated in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City, on January 12, 1915, and arrived in the field on the first day of February. He was met by a committee consisting of Archdeacon Steel, Archdeacon Sturges and Dean Myers, Mr. W. L. Platt, T. H. Harrison and Albert Wright. He went first to the Cathedral where a brief service was held.

His first visitation was to the Isle of Pines. At that time there were five mission stations on the Isle of Pines. Probably about 3,600 Americans were living there with others coming down to spend the winter. This seemed one of the most promising of all our fields. At the present time there are only 200 Americans left, and all our mission stations have disappeared. The four church buildings, the rectory and the school which the Church owned, have been blown away by the cyclone and no physical trace remains of the twenty years' work

on the island. That is typical of much of the work which Bishop Hulse found on his arrival. A large part of it has disappeared so far as any material results can be seen.

But the people who were brought into the Church while our Church was active on the Isle of Pines did not leave the Church when they left the island. They went back to the United States and wherever they went they carried with them the spiritual values they had received from the Church. The Church in the United States all along the Atlantic seaboard has been profiting by the work that has been done in Cuba for English speaking people who have moved back home.

Bishop Hulse's first task was to get acquainted with the field and in the first ten weeks of his residence in Cuba he visited every mission station and became familiar with the conditions under which the work was carried on. He found that approximately two-thirds of the work was in English and that the largest number of baptisms and the largest confirmation classes were among the English speaking congregations. There were 19 clergymen at work in the Island; 11 of them North Americans, 8 Cubans, four of the latter having been trained in the seminary started by Bishop Knight.

Bishop Hulse began his work in Cuba during the great war. His first difficulties rose out of the war. There were many Germans in Cuba. They had no church of their own and many of them were worshipping with us. This was especially so at the Cathedral in Havana. It will be remembered that one of the early services held by Bishop Whipple was in the Prussian consulate in Havana. The Germans had made contributions to the cathedral fund and had been helpful in the work in many ways.

The United States had not yet entered into the war. Many German-Americans had come to Cuba and they managed to keep on cordial terms with the other members of the congregation. But the Episcopal Church is part of the Anglican Communion, and a considerable proportion of the congregation at the Cathedral was of British birth and nationality. It was difficult for the citizens of the two warring nations to worship together. This was increasingly so as the sympathy of the Americans came gradually to rest with the British.

After the United States entered into the war the German contingent withdrew. As Cuba also was one of the allied nations many of them went back home. The war left many and painful wounds, some of them are not yet healed, but the Germans have returned to Cuba and many of them are using the Cathedral once more, though only a few as members of the regular congregations. From time to time the Bishop has permitted the Cathedral to be used for special German services conducted by German chaplains.



For the first two years of his administration Bishop Hulse found that the work was increasingly English. The English speaking colonies in the eastern end of the island were growing, and more and more American employees were being found necessary in the large sugar mills as the production of sugar became more scientific.

This period came to an end in 1917, due to two causes: first, the outbreak of the revolution in Cuba known locally as the Chambelona; and, second, the entry of the United States into the world war.

President Menocal ran for reelection in 1916 on the Conservative ticket. His opponent was Dr. Zayas, the candidate of the Liberal party. The election was bitterly contested. On the face of the returns Menocal was declared elected. The Liberals took the case to the Supreme Court, which ordered a new vote in certain election districts.

This was too slow a procedure to suit the more impatient Liberals and under the leadership of Ex-President Gomez they started a revolution. Most of the officers of the army had been appointed by Gomez and he imagined that they would follow him into the revolutionary ranks. The programme was reported to have been as follows:

Gomez' uprising was to be the signal for the army to march against Menocal. In the confusion both he and Zayas were to be killed and the way would be open for Gomez to ride into power once more. Menocal got word of it in some way and shifted the officers of the army about and took precautions to save his life, and Zayas took refuge in the house of the American minister; thus being protected against both his friends and his enemies.

As the first surprise did not succeed most of the army remained loyal to the government, and the attempted revolution was a failure.

It created great confusion, however, in the eastern end of the island. Santiago and Preston were in the hands of the Revolutionists for several weeks and disorderly bands roamed the countryside, burning houses, stealing horses and cattle, destroying roads and interfering with the normal life of the community. No Americans were killed, though several were wounded; but their houses were burnt down, their cattle killed, their horses stolen, their orange groves destroyed, and the result was that they became discouraged and went back to the United States. The great Florida boom dates from the influx of many of these people to Southern Florida.

It was a disaster for Cuba as well as for the colonists, because they were the type of people Cuba needed; neither rich nor poor, hard working, starting themselves in small industries, each giving employment to a few Cubans. Since they were driven out Cuba has been gradually going back to the old condition of a few rich and a great many desperately poor.

The revolution interfered with our work not only by driving away our people but also by making it impossible for the missionaries to get around on their lawful errands. The missionary in Preston found himself between two fires, and his only way of escape was to take the boat for New York. The Bishop was held up and searched at the point of the bayonet. Other missionaries could not get to their stations. After the situation had quieted down and conditions became more normal a large part of the English speaking work had disappeared.

While the revolution was going on the United States had entered into the World War, and the young American chemists in the sugar mills were among the first to enlist, and the younger members of the church on the Isle of Pines gradually went out to the front.

During the war Cuba was used as a training ground for the American marines, and a large part of the energy of many of the American clergy was devoted to ministering to them. Dean Colmore of the Cathedral in Havana had been made Bishop of Porto Rico. His successor was Dean Myers, who volunteered to serve as chaplain to the marines at San Juan Hill, as did also the Rev. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley, of Garrison, New York. The Dean and the Bishop took turns at the Cathedral.

Between them they made the Cathedral the center for all the religious services in connection with the events of the war. The great service held there at the Armistice was attended by the President of Cuba, the American minister, and the representatives of all the allied countries.

When the war came to an end and conditions grew more normal, the whole basis of the work was changed. The English speaking work still continued but the English speaking white congregations grew smaller and smaller.

Meanwhile the sugar industry had had a great boom and many Jamaicans had been brought to Cuba to work in the fields so that our English speaking missionaries found much to do in this different field. As work among the whites decreased work among the negroes increased.

The boom culminated and broke in the year 1920 in what is known in Cuba as "the dance of the millions". During the early part of the year sugar went up and up, and many of the mills stored it in the expectation that it would reach thirty cents a pound. It did creep up to twenty-three cents and then the boom burst and it went down to a little over two cents.

All the native banks were ruined, foreign banks were kept open only because they had resources outside of Cuba. Most of the sugar corporations were forced into the hands of receivers, many of the Ameri-

can merchants lost all their money. The richest man in Cuba committed suicide because his wealth was reduced overnight from thirty to thirteen million.

That closed one chapter in the economic life of Cuba. It also closed one chapter in the work of the mission. Since that collapse of the sugar industry the emphasis of our work has been on the Spanish speaking side. The English work has not been dropped and is still going on, but the Spanish work has become of increasing importance.

Mr. Decker, our resident missionary on the Isle of Pines, was withdrawn in 1923 and transferred to the diocese of Missouri. He was succeeded for a short time by Mr. Grundy, who was there part of a year. Since that time we have had only occasional services there. At the height of the English speaking work in La Gloria there were 120 in the Sunday School, all speaking English. La Gloria now reports 169 in the Sunday School and only ten of them speak English.

Dean Myers who had been so efficient in making the Cathedral the center of the religious life of the English speaking people in Havana was called to a chair in the University of the South, and resigned in September, 1922. After an interval of a year, during which the Bishop was responsible for the work in the Cathedral, the Reverend Harry Beal of Grace Church, New Bedford, Mass., was appointed dean and reached the field in November, 1923.\*

During the previous year, under the leadership of the Bishop, with the assistance of interested laymen among whom should be especially mentioned Mr. Platt, Mr. E. G. Harris and Mr. H. A. Himeley, the debt had been finally cleared off the Cathedral. The first duty of the new dean was to arrange for its consecration, which took place on March 2, 1924. Bishop Knight came down from the North to preach the sermon. While the money needed for the purchase of the ground on which the Cathedral stands was given by friends in the North, all the money for the building itself was raised in Cuba from members of the congregation, and it represents much interest and self-denial on their part.

The Cathedral stands in the heart of the great city. When the plot of ground on which it stands was selected it was picked out because, while it was in the heart of the city and so easily accessible from all parts, it was also on a side street and thus free from the noise of a great thoroughfare. Conditions change overnight in a great city. The Cathedral corner is now one of the busiest in Havana, nearly every bus and street car passes its door, and the noise is correspondingly great. The next thing the Cathedral Chapter wants to do is to close all the

\*Dr. Beal is now Bishop of the Panama Canal Zone.

doors and windows and put in an air cooling plant, to shut out the noise and make the building comfortable in our hot climate.

For many years Mr. Mancebo had been struggling to get a building for church purposes in Santiago. He first was able to erect a school in Sueño, a suburb. This was opened in 1917. Soon after a plot was purchased on the south side of the city in a neighborhood where many Jamaicans lived.

The Bishop laid the cornerstone of the new building on this plot in November, 1922, and in April of the following year the building was dedicated. It was in the form of an "L" and was intended for church and school, each having a capacity of about 200. The school building has been used not only for school purposes, but also as a social center. The members of the congregation have their fiestas here and from time to time during the winter lectures are given by distinguished speakers.

From the beginning this church has had two congregations, Spanish and English. At the start the Spanish congregation was small, now it is much the larger of the two. Then there were a number of scattered houses in the vicinity occupied by English speaking artisans receiving a comparatively good wage. Now it is the center of a dense Spanish speaking population of poverty stricken folk. In this church the Reverend Hipólito Jáuregui was ordained to the priesthood in March, 1925.

The convention year 1924-1925 saw several new recruits among the clergy. The Reverend John H. Townsend, now archdeacon of Camaguey, was received from the diocese of Albany and placed in charge of the church in Guantánamo. The Reverend R. F. Thornton was received from Pittsburgh and sent to the mission of La Gloria. He subsequently became archdeacon, but had to withdraw from the field on account of his family's health.

At a service held in Camaguey on December 5, 1924, Mr. G. G. Zerméño was ordered deacon and the Reverend R. C. Moreno and the Reverend R. D. Barrios were ordained to the priesthood. On January 25, 1925, the Reverend J. G. Peña was ordained in his home church, Fieles a Jesus, Matanzas. In this same year, Archdeacon Steel, the dean of the American clergy on the island, retired on a pension.

About this time the work seemed to have reached a dead center; it appeared to be impossible to make any progress. It looked as though we were engaged in the task of Sisyphus; rolling the stone up the hill only to see it roll down again. The workers saw congregation after congregation melt away into thin air as their people left. It was the period of the great change of emphasis from English to Spanish. As we lost our English speaking members we turned more and more to the



Cubans. The ordination of four native Cubans to the priesthood marked the way in which we were digging in to the native work.

In this we were led by Archdeacon McCarthy, a remarkable man, born in London of Irish ancestry, converted in the Argentine, where he was a missionary for many years. He finally found his way to Cuba as a Baptist missionary. Not knowing much theology he went one vacation to a Presbyterian Seminary in Louisville, Ky. Here he became a Protestant Episcopalian, very Protestant, and very loyal to his new connection. As he was interested in Cuba, Bishop Hulse heard about him and persuaded him to join our force. He was ordered to the diaconate in Calvary Church, New York City, on October 3, 1920, and was advanced to the priesthood the following June, during the convocation, by Bishop Hulse in both cases. His first field was La Gloria where he built up a strong Cuban congregation, visiting the surrounding hamlets on horseback, and spending the nights in the Cuban bohios. Later he was moved to the city of Camaguey where he was equally active.

About this time the province of Camaguey began to develop rapidly, many sugar mills were opened there, and people came in from other provinces. Railroad stations became towns overnight. Outside of a few old towns there were no churches in the province. The Bishop determined to concentrate all advance work in this needy section and appointed Mr. McCarthy archdeacon. The new archdeacon took up the work with much energy and visited all the growing communities of the province and established missions in many of them.

Some years before the Bishop had established a boys' school in Marianao near Havana. This he moved to Camaguey and it became a help in the work there. In a few years the result was seen in increased confirmations and baptisms. At the present time, 1937, we have missions in all the important towns in the province, fourteen in all.

One indirect result of our advance in this province has been the establishment of a number of Roman Catholic churches. In all the smaller places we were the first to start work, but as soon as we had gathered together a number of people and built up a congregation a Roman Catholic priest would appear. Their activity, however, has not affected our work at all except to add something to the zeal of the laymen we had reached. It has meant that where formerly the people had no religious opportunities whatever, now they have two churches ministering to them.

In 1925 Bishop Hulse was placed in charge of the missionary district of Mexico, during a vacancy in the episcopate there. This took him away from Cuba for a time and divided his interest, until at

the next General Convention Bishop Creighton was elected to Mexico. At the same time it gave him a wider idea of the possibilities of the work in Latin America.

In 1924 the Bishop sent the Reverend Mr. Mesegue to Moron and he established a school there in a rented building. It was a success from the start and the following year Col. Tarafa gave the Bishop a plot of ground near the railroad station, and a generous woman in New York gave sufficient money to erect a school and rectory here. A church was added later and now we have a complete plant in splendid physical condition.

In 1927 Mr. Romualio Gonzales, a young Spaniard, a teacher in the school in Moron, became a candidate for Holy Orders. Later he went to the DuBose school in Tennessee and still later to the Philadelphia Divinity School, where he graduated with honors in 1933. He remained in Philadelphia a year longer for advanced study in the University of Pennsylvania and returned to Cuba in 1934 and now is in charge of the work in Guantánamo and one of the most useful men in the district.

In 1926 Dean Beal was called to be dean of the cathedral in Los Angeles, California, and left Cuba in October. His going left a great gap which was difficult to fill. For nearly a year the Bishop looked after the work at the Cathedral as well as making his visitations in the District.

The same year, 1926, a destructive hurricane swept over the Isle of Pines and the province of Havana. All the buildings of the Church on the Isle of Pines were destroyed. Our chapel at Bacuranao was blown away. The church in Santa Cruz was badly damaged. The Bishop's House and the Cathedral also suffered, but not seriously. As the congregations on the Isle of Pines had disappeared no effort was made to rebuild those churches. The other property which had suffered was rebuilt and put in better shape than ever.

Archdeacon Diaz, our efficient Cuban archdeacon, became infirm this year and found himself obliged to give up work. In July, 1927, he died, and the church suffered a great loss. His energy and love for Cuba had combined to make him a successful worker in the Cuban field.

Archdeacon McCarthy was moved from Camaguey to Havana to take the place of Archdeacon Diaz, and Mr. Thornton was made archdeacon of Camaguey with headquarters in Moron. The Reverend Hugo Blankingship had been persuaded by the Bishop to become dean of the Cathedral and in October, 1927, came to Havana. The same year, 1927, the Bishop laid the cornerstone of a new church building in

Woodin made possible by the gift of \$10,000 from Mr. Woodin of New York City.

For several years after this the reports show gradual growth in the number of communicants, but so many people were leaving the island that the growth was very slow in proportion to the number confirmed.

The year 1931 was marked for Cuba by the death of Archdeacon McCarthy. He started many good works and lived to see them well advanced, but he did not live long enough to see the great advance made the few years after his death.

In April, 1932, the new church in Camaguey was opened. This was a beautiful structure, one of the best in the District, and was erected with the gifts of the Woman's Auxiliary of the diocese of New York. At the same time the new school building to the rear of the church was inaugurated. The church is on the main street of the town in a growing section, and is the pride of the neighborhood.

The year 1933 was a disastrous year for Cuba. The government of President Machado had been growing worse and worse. At last an uprising of the people drove him out after a general strike had paralyzed business for a long time. The disorders of this time seriously interfered with our work. For a time it was impossible to go about the country and in Havana for several weeks it was dangerous to go out of the house.

In the Fall of 1932 a cyclone had swept over the province of Camaguey. This had destroyed many of our buildings there, and injured others and the difficulties of the last year of Machado hindered the work of reparation.

The falling off of offerings had made it necessary to abandon the work in Oriente which had been carried on by Archdeacon Lopez and he was moved to Havana to succeed Archdeacon McCarthy.

All of these troubles, deaths, cyclones, bad government came to a head in 1933, but that year saw the largest number of confirmations ever reported in one year. For the first time the number of communicants reported was over 3,000.

Since the year 1933 there have been many economic difficulties in Cuba, but conditions have been more peaceful and it has been possible for our missionaries to carry on their work without fear of being arrested and the reports show continual growth.

That growth is in the Cuban side of the work among people who are likely to remain where we find them. It is interesting to note that the last Church to be dedicated is in Itabo, a purely Cuban community, where no one speaks English. It is a well built edifice which would normally cost at least \$4,000, but the actual money cost was

less than \$2,000, because a large part of the work was done by the people themselves.

The years to come may see great changes. Cyclones may destroy our buildings and we may not be able to rebuild them, but the work that has been done in rebuilding human lives will not pass away so easily. That is imperishable.



## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Grace Church in Newark. The First Hundred Years 1837-1937.* By Edward F. Bataille. Pp. 140.

Grace Church, Newark, New Jersey, celebrates its centennial by the publication of an admirably written history of its first one hundred years. It is a story well worth the telling. And for the reason that its life enshrines the life and work of a pioneer Anglo-Catholic parish. Years pass so quickly that it is difficult to realize that when the parish was established in 1837 there were still negro slaves in Newark, no public schools and no paved streets. Martin Van Buren was President of the United States and Abraham Lincoln had just been elected to the Illinois legislature. The first missionaries of the Church came to New Jersey in 1703 and in 1731 the first church services were held in Newark, Trinity Church being established two years later. Under the auspices of Bishop George Washington Doane Grace Church was organized in 1837 with the Reverend Doctor George Thomas Chapman as the first rector. From that time it has gone on from strength to strength and though now a downtown parish it still bears its witness to the faith once delivered to the saints.

This was one of the parishes in the American Church profoundly affected by the Tractarian movement. From the outset of Doctor Chapman's administration daily services were established and one of his successors lost his position by reason of the fact that he denounced such services and the weekly Communion as "of popish origin and tendency", though he introduced a choir of boys and chanting. Under the rectorship of the Rev. Dr. P. K. Cady Grace Church became a free church and he was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. John Sebastian Hodges, the eminent church musician who later became rector of S. Paul's, Baltimore. He installed the vested choir in Newark in 1866. Altar lights followed in 1871. The first daily Eucharist was held in Lent of 1879 and about the same time confessions were heard. Under the guidance of the Reverend Doctor George Martin Christian, (later rector of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, New York City,) Grace Church became "a truly Catholic church". With great boldness he advocated the sacrament of penance; introduced colored vestments; adopted incense and made the Eucharist the chief service on Sundays; also the daily Mass. He was one of the first, if not actually the first,

priest to use the service of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and to establish daily Lenten noonday services. Dr. Charles Carroll Edmunds, happily still living, carried on the Catholic tradition and found a like-minded successor in the present rector, the Reverend Dr. Gomph.

The story of the one hundred years is well told and the book is profusely illustrated with photographs and pen-sketches. In the years to come it will prove to be most valuable source material for the history of the development of the Anglo-Catholic movement in the life of the American Church.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

*The Reverend Richard Fish Cadle.* A Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Territories of Michigan and Wisconsin in the Early 19th Century. By Howard Greene. Elizabeth Pruessing, Research Assistant. Privately printed by Davis-Greene Corporation. Waukesha, Wisconsin. 1936.

This is a significant book. *First*, because it is the biography of a pioneer missionary priest. After we have given the pioneer missionary bishops their due, it still is true that the pioneer priests were the ones who either planted the Church or made the Church a going concern in the places where it had been planted. Proper historical recognition of their labors has been tardy, due either to the scarcity of material or the difficulties of assembling it. In this volume justice has been done to one of the finest of that too little known company. *Second*, this book is by a layman who has expended his own money without any expectation of financial return, the book not being for sale. Is this an omen of a new and brighter era in the field of American Church History? Whether it is or not, the Church owes Mr. Greene a debt of profound gratitude for his contribution. We happen to know that he has travelled along the eastern seaboard looking up data concerning Cadle's later ministry.

We have here excellent pictures of pioneer days of the Church in Detroit, of the ill-fated Green Bay Mission, of the Church's planting in Wisconsin, of the beginnings of Nashotah, and of Cadle's last years in the east. As the administrative head of institutions, Cadle was not a success and the author does not blink the facts. But Cadle was an indefatigable missionary and pastor who brought comfort to thousands of souls on the frontier. Bishop Kemper, who knew intimately Cadle's limitations as well as his strength, regretted keenly his final withdrawal from the western field due to the bungling of an officer of the Missionary Society.

In view of the merit of this biography and in view of its being a labor of love by a layman, we are loath to criticize anything about it. On the other hand, we feel sure that the author would wish it treated as seriously as any other historical work.

On page seven it is asserted that the clergy in colonial times "were all members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" and "were appointed to their respective parishes by the Crown." These statements are not accurate. The clergy of Virginia and Maryland were not members of the S. P. G. nor sent out by that Society; and neither were the clergy of Trinity Church, New York, or Christ Church, Philadelphia. The S. P. G. missionaries were not appointed by the Crown. They were appointed by the Society itself.

On page eleven the author states that he has been unable "to learn the place or date of Mr. Cadle's ordination to the priesthood", and that "he went to St. John's Church, Salem, New Jersey, as priest and rector." We are glad to be able to supply this information. Mr. Cadle went to St. John's, Salem, N. J., as a deacon and rector-elect only a few weeks before the New Jersey Diocesan Convention of August 23-24, 1820 (so the Journal of 1820 states), and he was ordained priest by Bishop Croes in St. John's, Salem, on Tuesday, November 7, 1820 (Journal of 1821, p. 6), automatically becoming rector of that parish and of St. George's, Penns Neck. The latter parish was revived by Cadle after a vacancy of 35 years. At the Convention of August 20, 1823, Bishop Croes reported that Mr. Cadle had resigned and returned to New York, but he was in attendance at that convention and accorded the courtesy of a seat.

We trust that this worthy contribution to American Church History will not be Mr. Greene's last. We venture to suggest that a definitive biography from Mr. Greene's pen of the noble Dr. DeKoven, including the history of Racine College during DeKoven's association with it, would be a most welcome addition to the history of the American Church.

—WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

*The Episcopal Church Among the Negroes of Virginia.* By G. Maclaren Brydon, D. D. Virginian Diocesan Library, 110 West Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia, 1937 Pp. 26.

Within the compass of a pamphlet Dr. Brydon, Historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, has written a comprehensive account of the work of the Church among the Negroes of Virginia. It is divided into three parts: The Beginnings which go down to the end of the War between the States; 1865-1892; 1892-1914 and 1914-1937. The beginnings are of special interest inasmuch as the author outlines the establishment of the American Colonization Society, which conceived and partially carried out the settlement of what we now call Liberia. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that studies like this are invaluable as sources for history.

*Great Men of the Bible.* By Walter Russell Bowie. Harper Brothers, Publishers, New York and London. 1937. Pp. 228.

Ordinarily a volume of sermons would be outside the province of the Review department of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. But these sermons of Dr. Bowie are concerned with the history of the Old Testament and are biographical in character. Apart from the arresting beauty of style of which the rector of Grace Church is a past master, their historical interest lies in the fact that whilst acknowledging that some of the characters depicted are more or less legendary they are yet great human types conveying abiding lessons of life and conduct for men of all time. The whole volume is an indication of the value of biographical history for the modern man.

*The Second Seventy.* By Lyman P. Powell. Macrae Smith and Company, Philadelphia. 1937. Pp. 176.

The keynote of this charming book is to be found in Browning's oft-quoted words:

"Grow old along with me,  
The best is yet to be".

With alluring optimism Dr. Powell refuses to believe that when men reach the age of three-score years and ten their strength is but labor and sorrow. Rather they enter upon a second spring. In proof thereof he cites not only his own experience, but also that of such representative men as Elihu Root, George Haven Putnam, Daniel Frohman, our own Bishop William Lawrence and a host of others who continued to do creative work long after they passed the seventieth milestone. The whole book is a tonic. Would that it could be read and pondered by all who shrink from the passing of the years.







BISHOP CHASE IN YOUNG MANHOOD

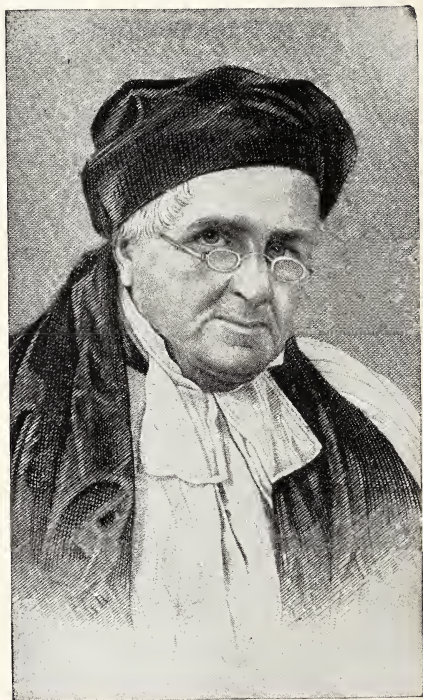
PHILANDER CHASE

*December 14, 1775 - September 20, 1852*

*First Bishop of Ohio: 1819 - 1831*

*First Bishop of Illinois: 1835 - 1852*

THE OLD BISHOP CHASE



# Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

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## FOREWORD

*By the Bishops of Ohio*

What romance there is in the growth of the Church. Outside of the original Dioceses following the Constitutional Convention in 1789, Ohio was the first Missionary Diocese established, born full grown with half a dozen clergy, a dozen parishes, and a college which provided the Bishop's patrimony for thirty years.

Philander Chase, the intrepid and mighty, accomplished more in twelve years than many did in a life-time. There was no help from the general Church, but one trip to England by Chase, and two such trips by the evangelical and scholarly McIlvaine secured funds to maintain the college and episcopate. Forty years of ministry enabled Bishop McIlvaine to be the greatest church-builder Ohio knew, as well as to preserve the college and to create an Episcopal Fund. Those were years of vigorous migration to Ohio and the Church grew correspondingly following canal and stage coach routes.

Nor were the Bishops the only leaders. Countless lay people, men and women, spurred by their Bishops and clergy, shared equally in the achievement. Back of every strong parish was a continuous line of devoted laymen, passing on from father to son the divine gift of the Church's destiny and passion.

So Ohio faces this day with its Bishops and nearly two hundred clergy and its thousands of Church people, thanking God for our heritage and pledging anew our loyalty and love for our Lord and His Church.

Greetings from a discoverer of the Middle West!

Having been born and spending most of my boyhood in Colorado, and then going to New England for college, the seminary, and the first ten years of my ministry, I had always thought of the Middle West as a section rather devoid of any romance or beauty, where large industries and record corn grew up.

For seven years now I have lived in this Middle West. I have been frequently ashamed of my former ignorance and prejudice. I have found undiluted American life as it is impossible to find it anywhere else in the country. I've discovered episodes of American history which paint the past in fascinating colors. I've entered a fellowship in which reality and vision are combined in a rare way, stirring men with a spirit of high adventure. Most important of all is the sincere and loyal Christian life which is so characteristic of many citizens of this region.

I therefore deem it a privilege, as one who is thankful that he has discovered the Middle West, to say this word of greeting to those who have the opportunity, through this issue of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, to become acquainted with the Church in Ohio.

Especially to you who are coming to Cincinnati for the General Convention next October I say "Welcome" and my best wish for you is that you may find in your visit to this part of the country some of the joy that has come to me since it has been my home.

WARREN L. ROGERS,  
*Bishop of Ohio.*

HENRY W. HOBSON,  
*Bishop of Southern Ohio.*

## THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH IN OHIO AND KENYON COLLEGE

*By Evelyn A. Cummins*

**I**N the year 1750 George II, king of England, made a grant of certain lands in the west to the Ohio Company of Virginia, and Christopher Gist, a lay Churchman, was sent to explore the country with a view to finding suitable places for settlement.

On Christmas Day, 1750, Gist conducted the first known Protestant service in what is now the state of Ohio. Addressing a mixed crowd of Indians and white settlers "of several different Persuasions", he said:

"The Doctrine of Salvation, Faith, and good Works is what I only propose to treat of, as I find it extracted from the Homilies of the Church of England, which I then read them in the best Manner I could, and after I had done the Interpreter told the Indians what I had read, and that it was the true Faith which the great King and His Church recommended to his Children."<sup>1</sup>

The Indians were so impressed that they asked him to baptize their children, and when he explained that he could not, they were pleased with his assurance that "the great King would send them proper Ministers to exercise that Office among them".

By the treaty of 1783 Great Britain acknowledged the claim of the United States to the country northwest of the Ohio River, and four years later Congress threw it open for settlement, providing that there should be no slavery. In 1803 Ohio was admitted as a State, having at that time 45,000 inhabitants. The new settlers represented a cross section of American life: Scotch-Irish; Pennsylvania-Dutch; and Germans. These included Roman Catholics, Lutherans and members of the Reformed Churches, as well as people from every state in the Union.

Before any minister of this Church appeared in Ohio occasional Prayer Book services were conducted by laymen who had come from the eastern dioceses. At Marietta, the scene of the first white settlement, it is said that the Prayer Book was used at the first religious

<sup>1</sup>*Gist's Journal*, p. 37.



service held after the settlers landed from their boats.<sup>2</sup> At Fort Farmer's Castle, Colonel Ebenezer Battelle held services every Sunday. Occasionally he used the Prayer Book, and it is on record that Colonel Israel Putnam who lived at Belpre read "on the Sabbath, in their social meetings, when they had no preacher, the prayers of the Episcopal Church, and a sermon from the works of some pious divine."<sup>3</sup> In 1805 Joseph Gunn, a Connecticut churchman, who had settled near Portsmouth, held a church service for his family every Sunday, and Joseph Platt did likewise at Boardman.

When Philander Chase first visited Windsor he found there Judge Solomon Griswold, a cousin of Bishop Alexander V. Griswold of Massachusetts, by whom he was warmly welcomed. "I am overjoyed," said the Judge, "to see a Church clergyman, one who is duly authorized to administer the sacraments. I have read prayers here in the woods for several years. The scattered flock of Christ have been thus kept mindful that there is a fold".<sup>4</sup> During the War of 1812 Captain Chester Griswold conducted services at Worthington when "there was no other organized Episcopal Church in the State, nor is it known or believed that any other body of men worshipped as Episcopalians in the State".<sup>5</sup>

Cleveland was laid out in 1796. One of the surveyors engaged in the work was the Rev. Seth Hart who had been ordered deacon by Bishop Samuel Seabury on October 9, 1791, and died in 1832. He records conducting a funeral on June 3, 1797. He writes: "I made use of our burial office . . . and it was my first employment in the country." A little later he baptized an infant; still later solemnized a marriage. However, after this twenty years elapsed before another church service was conducted in Cleveland.

The first clergyman of this Church to hold regular services in Ohio was the Rev. Joseph Doddridge who was born in Pennsylvania on October 14th, 1769, and who for a time labored as an itinerant Methodist preacher before the Methodists in the United States separated from the Church. In later years he wrote to a Methodist preacher saying:

"The first Christian service I ever heard was that of the Church of England in America. When I was a minister in your society a Prayer Book was put into my hands with an order to use it every Sunday, Wednesday, Friday and Holy-Day, also on baptism and sacramental occasions, which I did."<sup>6</sup>

It is not surprising therefore that he soon determined to seek holy

<sup>2</sup>Waters. *History of St. Luke's Church, Marietta*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup>Smythe. *A History of the Diocese of Ohio to 1918*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Chase. *Reminiscences*, Vol. i, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup>Smythe, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup>Doyle. *Church in Eastern Ohio*, p. 11.

orders and he was made deacon by Bishop William White on March 4th, 1792. Establishing himself at Charlestown, Virginia, he held services in his own house, and there is ample evidence that he was the first Episcopal minister to conduct services at Steubenville, Ohio, and that he continued to do so until about 1820. He was so poor that he had but one suit of clothes, and when they needed repair he had to remain in seclusion. He eked out a scanty living by working as a tanner, and later studied medicine under the famous Dr. Rush of Philadelphia. For the rest of his life his medical practice was his chief means of livelihood. Of the ten parishes represented in the first diocesan convention of Ohio, four were organized by Dr. Doddridge while he still continued his work in Virginia.

In 1803 the village of Worthington, Ohio, was founded by a colony of church people who migrated from Connecticut and Massachusetts. Their leader was the Rev. James Kilbourn, the son of a Connecticut farmer. He was ordered deacon by Bishop Jarvis in 1802. As a boy James learned a trade as a cloth worker, and in the summer worked on the farm of Elisha Griswold, father of Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese. Later he ran a tavern, kept a store, and came to be the owner of five farms. Soon after his ordination he journeyed to Ohio as the agent of a Connecticut company composed chiefly of churchmen who purchased a very large tract of land a few miles north of where Columbus now stands. A place in the forest was cleared and the place was named Worthington. The first settler to arrive was Ezra Griswold, a brother of the bishop. Others followed and Mr. Kilbourn held a service every Sunday. On February 6th, 1804, the parish of "St. John's, Worthington and Parts Adjacent" was organized. Three years later it was the second religious body incorporated by the legislature in the state of Ohio.

In 1812 there was organized the "Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania", of which the Rev. Jackson Kemper of Philadelphia was the leading spirit. Two years later Kemper, as agent of the Society, set out to visit the regions beyond, and extended his journey into parts of Ohio, visiting Boardman, Poland and Canfield, all on the Western Reserve. He found about thirty Episcopal families. In addition to baptizing, he administered the Holy Communion at Boardman, this being the first Anglican celebration in that part of Ohio. Encouraged by this visitation, Dr. Doddridge then made an extensive missionary tour throughout the center of the state and found in many places what he called "skeletons of Episcopal congregations".

In 1816, Ohio was visited by the Rev. Jacob Morgan Douglass of

Pennsylvania, who baptized fifteen persons. He made a second visit later in the same year, officiating at St. Clairsville, Morristown and Cambridge, finding "many of our brethren". He wrote Jackson Kemper saying, "I wish you could send out another missionary through this state", for "there are a number of people very favorable to Episcopacy". On his return from Kentucky he arrived at the "town of Cincinnati" in December. Here he found a Reverend Mr. Zesline, a Moravian minister, holding prayer book services for the Episcopalians on Sunday afternoons. He also found the Rev. George Strebeck from New York, who was contemplating the establishment of a school, and who expressed his willingness "to preach *occasionally*". Conditions were evidently not to the liking of Douglass for he wrote Kemper, "Oh Sir, I was grieved at Cincinnati. So flourishing a town & my exertions failing. It is very troublesome to deal with some of the Episcopalians".

These facts, coupled with the very rapid increase of population, convinced Doddridge that the time had come to organize the scattered congregations into a diocese under the oversight of a bishop.

Three distinct steps were taken looking to the formation of a diocese in this western country.

The first was under the leadership of Doddridge. Under date of September 26, 1816, the *Ohio Monitor* of Columbus, published the following:

### NOTICE TO EPISCOPALIANS

"A Convention of the Clergy and Lay Delegates of the Protestant Episcopal Church, within the states & parts of states, and the territories west of the Alleghany mountains, will be holden in the parish of St. Johns Church at Worthington, in the state of Ohio, on Monday, the 21st of October next, and succeeding days; for the purpose of erecting and constituting a regular diocese in the western country; of selecting a suitable person for the Bishop thereof, and adopting a proper course of measures, that he may be ordained or consecrated and set apart to the apostolic office; and of providing for his support and comfort; and generally to transact any and all other business which the said convention may think expedient and proper.

### THE SEVERAL CHURCHES

*And Societies* of the order, wherever existing, in the said states and parts of states and territories, will be pleased to receive this publication as sufficient notice; and it is hoped that the representatives will be complete, by the attendance of their clergymen and Lay Delegates from every quarter. The convention sermon will be preached at Worthington, on the pre-

ceeding Sunday (the 20th of October) by the Rev. Joseph Doddridge, of Charlestown, Virginia.

JOHN TAYLOR<sup>7</sup>  
JOSEPH DODDRIDGE  
JAMES KILBOURN

The convention duly convened as advertised. Doddridge and Kilbourn were the only clergy there, and no laymen from outside of Ohio attended. The plan of which the Worthington convention approved, was to unite the parishes in Ohio and in the remote parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia into a western diocese, and to make provision for the election of a bishop. A petition to this effect was sent to Bishop White of Pennsylvania and Bishop Hobart of New York and was to be laid before the General Convention appointed to be held early in 1817.

So far as the Ohio petitioners were concerned, no direct answer was returned. The journal of the General Convention for 1817, however, relates that Bishop White presented the petition to the House of Bishops, and that it was also reported to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. The difficulty in authorizing the Doddridge plan lay in the fact that the constitution of the Church recognized "only a Convention of the Church in each state". Realizing, however, the urgency of the situation, the Convention adopted a canon as a temporary expediency, which provided that in the event of the consecration of a bishop "for any state or states westward of the Alleghany mountains", the congregations in Pennsylvania and Virginia lying to the west could place themselves under the jurisdiction of such a bishop, "and unite

<sup>7</sup>(Ed. Note) On September 24, 1787, a plot of land on which Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, now stands was conveyed to the trustees "of the congregation of the Episcopal Church, commonly called the Church of England". In 1794 the Rev. Francis Reno is recorded as officiating alternately at Pittsburgh and Chartiers, a few miles distant. Three years later a small group of churchmen invited the Rev. John Taylor to become their minister. For forty-five years Mr. Taylor kept a "Commonplace" Book which included a Registry of Marriages, Baptisms and Funerals from 1800 to 1832. He was born in the County of Armagh, Ireland, in 1754, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Originally a Presbyterian, he taught school at several places in Pennsylvania and was ordered deacon by Bishop William White on October 12, 1794. He is believed to have gone West in 1797, and first lived on a farm in Washington County. In addition to officiating in Pittsburgh which in 1800 had only a population of 1,565, he taught in the Pittsburgh Academy, and later opened a night school. The early church services were held in the grand jury room of the Court House, and later in a building known as the "Round Church". In 1818 he resigned his rectorship though he continued to exercise a ministry for several years, being known as "Father Taylor". He died on August 10, 1838, at the age of eighty-three years and nine months. (Cf. Rev. John Taylor, the First Rector of Trinity Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh and his Commonplace Book by Charles W. Dahlinger. *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*. 1918. Also—Sermon Preached in Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, October 3, 1869, by The Rev. John Scarborough, Pittsburgh: J. R. Welton & Co. )



in Convention with the Church in any western state or states.”<sup>8</sup> This provision however was rendered unnecessary by the election in Ohio, and it was repealed in 1820. In the House of Deputies the following list of organized parishes in Ohio was presented and entered in the Journal:

St. Peter's Church, in Ashtabula,  
Trinity Church, in Cleveland,  
St. Mark's Church, in Columbia,  
St. John's Church, in Liverpool,  
St. Paul's Church, in Medina,  
St. Luke's Church, in Ravenna,  
Grace Church, in Parkman,  
St. Stephen's Church, in Middlebury,  
St. James' Church, in Boardman,  
Christ Church, in Windsor,  
Grace Church, in Berkshire,  
St. Michael's Church, in Norton,  
St. John's Church, in Worthington,  
St. Paul's Church, in Chillicothe,  
St. James' Church, in Zanesville,  
Church, in Cambridge,  
Church, in Morristown,  
Church, in St. Clairville,  
Church, in Steubenville.<sup>9</sup>

The year 1817 was an important one for the development of the Church in Ohio. The large migration of church people from Connecticut and New England to Ohio has already been noted. From the parish of the Rev. Roger Searle at Plymouth, Connecticut, twenty-eight families had gone to Ohio within two years. Roger Searle was formerly a Methodist preacher and had later been ordained by Bishop Jarvis. He was a clerical deputy to the General Convention of 1817. As a result of the appeals of his former parishioners he resolved to move to Ohio to “gather the many exposed and wandering lambs of the flock into their proper fold”. After a long and difficult journey in the depth of winter he arrived at Ashtabula where he was warmly greeted by former parishioners. By the first of March he was in Cleveland, then a village of about 150 inhabitants. Here he organized a parish under the name of Trinity Church, the first services being held in the Court House. Parishes were also organized at Liverpool, Columbia and Medina, as well as at Ravenna. At all these places delegates were elected to a proposed convention to organize the diocese of Ohio. Searle was then headed for Windsor.

<sup>8</sup>*General Convention Journal, 1817, pp. 41, 54.*

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid. p. 14.*

"On the 31st day of March, 1817", writes the Rev. Dr. John Hall, "the Rev. Mr. Searle reached Windsor, and was surprised in meeting there the Rev. Philander Chase just arrived from Hartford, Connecticut". It was a dramatic moment.

Philander, born December 14, 1775, was the fifteenth child of Dudley Chase who settled at Cornish, New Hampshire, in 1765. Like all his forbears, Philander was a Congregationalist, his father and grandfather having been deacons in that body. In 1791 he entered Dartmouth College and while there stumbled on a copy of the Book of Common Prayer. After a careful study of its contents he determined to join himself to the Episcopal Church and carried into the fold all the members of his family. The old Meeting House at Cornish was torn down and an Episcopal church erected. At the venerable hands of the Reverend Bethuel Chittenden, who was described as "almost like St. John in the wilderness, clothed in sheepskin smalls, glazed by hard and frequent use, and a threadbare blue coat", Philander received his first Communion, the memory of which he cherished to the end of his long life.

He graduated from Dartmouth in 1795 and proceeded to Albany where he taught school on week days and officiated as a candidate for orders in the adjoining district. He was ordered deacon by Bishop Samuel Provoost in St. George's Church, New York City, on May 10, 1798, and immediately began his work as an itinerant missionary in the northern part of the State. In a little over one year he traveled 4,000 miles; preached 313 times; distributed tracts, Bibles and Prayer Books and visited the Mohawk and Oneida Indians. After six years service at Poughkeepsie, he was selected by Bishop Benjamin Moore of New York "to preach the gospel" in the far-distant city of New Orleans, holding services in the Court House where "a communion was instituted, and several devout persons of both sexes attended". In 1811 he became rector of Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut. Six years later he heard the call of the new West and set out for Ohio and immediately began his missionary work which included preaching in Cincinnati in the brick "meeting-house with two steeples". He bought a farm at Worthington and divided his time between preaching and acting as principal of the Academy.

On the fifth day of January, 1818, the first diocesan convention in Ohio convened at the house of Dr. Goodale, at Columbus. Apparently but two clergymen attended—Philander Chase and Roger Searle. There were, at the beginning, seven lay delegates representing the following parishes:

*Trinity Church, Columbus*—Benjamin Gardiner and Joel Buttles.

*St. John's Church, Worthington*—Ezra Griswold and Chester Griswold.

*St. James' Church, Boardman*—Joseph Platt.

*Christ Church, Windsor*—Solomon Griswold.

*Grace Church, Berkshire*—David Prince.

Later John Matthews, from St. James' Church, Zanesville, and Alfred Mack, from Christ Church, Cincinnati, took their seats. The first act of the convention was the adoption of the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and a committee was appointed "to suggest some measures for the support of a Bishop in the State of Ohio".<sup>10</sup> A diocesan constitution was adopted and Roger Searle, Philander Chase and Messrs. B. Gardiner and Chester Griswold were appointed members of the Standing Committee. Chase, Searle, together with Ethan Stone, Arthur St. Clair, of Cincinnati; Benjamin Gardiner of Columbus; James Kilbourn and Chester Griswold, of Worthington; John Matthews and Dr. Conant of Zanesville; Solomon Griswold of Windsor and Turhand Kirkland, of Poland, were appointed a special committee "jointly or severally, to digest a plan or plans, for the support of the Episcopate of this State, and report to the next convention".<sup>11</sup>

The following two reports on the state of the Church in Ohio were made:

"The Rev. Mr. Searle observes, that he came into this State in the month of February, 1817; in which month, and in March and April following, several parishes were formed in the State of Ohio, as members of the Protestant Episcopal Church. A parish in Ashtabula, county of Ashtabula, by the name of St. Peter's Church, was formed in February last, with considerable promise. Trinity Church, Cleveland, was formed soon after; St. Mark's Church in Columbia; St. John's Church, in Liverpool; St. Paul's Church, in Medina; St. Luke's Church, in Ravenna; and St. James' Church, in Boardman, were duly organized in March and April. Grace Church, in Berkshire, and St. Paul's Church, in Chillicothe, took form in April last. A general spirit of suitable zeal seemed also everywhere to prevail, and an ardent wish was expressed for the ordinances of our holy religion. During the very laborious services rendered by the subscriber last spring, two hundred and eighty-four persons and children were baptized, and eighty-three persons admitted to the holy communion.

On his return to the State of Ohio, in November last, the subscriber had visited many parts of the State. Some of the parishes formed last spring are found to be prospering, increasing in numbers and proper zeal for the interests of re-

<sup>10</sup>*Journal*, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.* p. 6.

ligion generally, and for the primitive doctrines and usages of the Church. In Steubenville, in St. Clairsville, in Morristown, and in Cambridge, there are parishes formed which are under the care of the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, of Virginia, all of which are understood to be prospering.

The subscriber has now devoted nearly one year, in unremitting services and labors for the promotion of those interests justly deemed sacred by the members of the Church and the friends of religion generally. And while he views with pleasure every opening pointing to the future prospect of primitive piety, he earnestly prays the great Head of the Church, to direct the measures leading to our contemplated organization."<sup>12</sup>

R. SEARLE.

"The Rev. Mr. Chase observes that he came into this State in the month of March last; that he organized a parish of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the town of Windsor, in the county of Ashtabula, by the name of Christ Church; that he baptized rising of sixty persons therein, and administered the Holy Communion to twenty-four persons; that the members of this infant parish appear to be pious and ardently attached to our primitive communion.

Besides officiating in various intermediate places where Prayer Books and Tracts were earnestly wished for, the Rev. Mr. Chase held divine service, and regularly incorporated a Parish of our communion, at the Iron Works, in the Township of Talmage and vicinity, by the name of St. Stephen's Church. This parish is but small, but of considerable promise; the baptisms were a few.

Mr. Chase held service and preached in several places on his way to Zanesville. In Coshocton he partially organized a parish. There being several persons in that place and neighborhood belonging to our communion, much is hoped, from the exertions of some future laborer in the vineyard. In Zanesville he found a very respectable congregation of Episcopalians, duly organized under the pious and praiseworthy exertions of the Rev. Mr. Doddridge of Virginia. Mr. Chase baptized several persons, both adults and infants, and thinks they bid fair soon to become a distinguished part of the Church in this State.

In Lancaster Mr. Chase officiated. The members of our communion in that place, though not numerous yet, expressed their hopes that a parish might soon be organized so as to require the services of a Clergyman, at least a part of the time. The same observations may be applied to the people of our Church in Circleville.

In Chillicothe Mr. Chase officiated several times. As the respectable parish in this town was duly organized by the Rev.

<sup>12</sup>*Journal*, p. 5.



Mr. Searle, and as he mentioned its state and prospects in the part of this report assigned to him, Mr. Chase passes it over. He understands, however, that they intend soon to erect a Church for public worship. Mr. Chase officiated in Springfield and Dayton; in both of which places, the attempts to organize parishes in our communion have not been totally without success.

In Cincinnati Mr. Chase was peculiarly blessed, in the formation of a numerous and wealthy parish, by the name of Christ Church. The persons belonging to this parish, have, since their recent establishment, manifested a zeal and ardor in the cause of Zion worthy of better days. They regularly meet and hold divine service on Sunday; notwithstanding their exertions to procure a clergyman, they have, hitherto, been unsuccessful.

Mr. Chase succeeded in organizing a parish at Columbus by the name of Trinity Church; and another in Delaware by the name of St. Peter's Church; these, together with a small parish at Norton and Radnor, formed last summer by Col. James Kilbourn; a very respectable parish in Berkshire, formed by the Rev. Mr. Searle, and the parish of St. John's Church, Worthington; constitute the present cure of Mr. Chase. In his cure, comprehending these last named parishes, he has baptized rising of a hundred persons, and at stated times, administers the Holy Communion to about sixty-five.

Notwithstanding the many difficulties incident to infant parishes, in new settled countries, there is, under the smiles of a benignant Providence, much to cause the heart of a Christian to rejoice for the present, and to take courage for future. A Bible and Prayer Book Society has been formed in Worthington and vicinity of much promise; and a Female Tract Society, under the direction of the Rector of St. John's Church, is recently organized, and bids fair to be very useful.

The constant accession to the number of communicants at the altar, as well as the awakened attention of the congregations in general, to the necessity of Holy Baptism and other ordinances of the Gospel, afford great cause for gratitude to the Divine Head of the Church for the operations of his grace; and prompt the ardent prayer for future blessings."<sup>13</sup>

P. CHASE.

Before adjournment the convention viewed "with lively emotions of pleasure the flourishing though infant state of our Church in Ohio", and arranged for a convention to meet in Worthington on the first Monday of June.

The second convention met at Worthington as arranged. Four of the clergy were in attendance: Philander Chase of Worthington; Roger Searle of Boardman; Samuel Johnston of Cincinnati, and James

<sup>13</sup>*Journal*, pp. 5-6.

Kilbourne, deacon. Chase presided. There were thirteen lay deputies. Dr. Doddridge of Virginia, was accorded a seat in the convention without a vote. He reported as follows:

“St. James’ Church, in the county of Jefferson, nine miles from Steubenville, was formed about two years ago; it contains about thirty families, and is increasing. The number of communicants fifty-two; the number of baptisms, within two years, has considerably exceeded one hundred. They are a steady, pious people, and zealously attached to the doctrines and worship of our Church. Should an Episcopal congregation be formed in Steubenville, which it is hoped will take place at no very distant period of time, the two congregations, in that case, would form a convenient cure for one clergyman. They are taking measures to commence the building of a Church this season.

St. Thomas’ Church, in St. Clairsville, has been organized some time. The number of Baptisms is considerable; the holy sacrament has never been administered here. There is every prospect that this congregation will be large and respectable; the number of families attached to it, at present, is at least thirty.

St. Peter’s Church, in Morristown, consists of about twenty families; and bids fair to become respectable. This congregation, and that of St. Clairsville, which are but ten miles distant from each other, would form a convenient charge for one clergyman; and the present rector humbly hopes that through the blessing of Divine Providence, they will shortly have one settled among them.

He has officiated several times in Cambridge; and finds, that a congregation of about twenty-five families might be formed there. There are also some families of Episcopalians in and about New Washington, ten miles distant from Cambridge. These places certainly require the attention of the Clergy of this Diocese.

St. James’ Church, in Zanesville, which was formed by him, and of which he is still the rector, will be reported through another channel. He indulges the hope, that this Church will always hold a very respectable rank amongst the Churches of the Diocese of Ohio.”<sup>14</sup>

The Rev. Roger Searle reported visitations in all the parishes in the northern part of the State, baptizing about fifty persons “and admitting a respectable number to the Holy Communion”. Also the organization of a Bible and Common Prayer Book Society, a Female Tract Society, and a Missionary Society, auxiliary to the “Episcopal Missionary Society of Philadelphia”, all within the Western Reserve. Particular interest attaches to the report of the Rev. Samuel Johnston,

<sup>14</sup>*Journal*, p. 13.

who commenced his work at Cincinnati on Good Friday and remained there till the first Sunday after Trinity. He writes:

"We may safely say there are about fifty Episcopal families who regularly attend divine worship. They are remarkably attentive to the service, and the responses are made with animation and propriety. Several of the congregation appear to be seriously impressed with the great duty of making their calling and election sure. . . . A burial ground and a site for a church have been purchased, costing them about thirty-four hundred dollars. A subscription for erecting a church is now in circulation, and from six to seven thousand dollars are already subscribed."<sup>15</sup>

On the second day of the convention it was determined

"That it is expedient to elect a Bishop for the diocese of Ohio, and to take measures that the person elected may be duly consecrated and set apart to the Episcopal office in said Diocese."<sup>16</sup>

Of the four clergy entitled to vote three voted for Philander Chase; and one—believed to be that of Chase—was cast for Dr. Doddridge. The lay vote was unanimous for Chase, who was thereupon declared elected bishop of the diocese. Dr. Doddridge, being canonically connected with the diocese of Virginia, was not entitled to vote, but, at his express desire, the following statement was entered upon the minutes of the Convention:

"The Rev. Doct. Doddridge is thankful to the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls for the event of an election of a Bishop for this Diocese; and from the good account which he has uniformly heard of the learning and piety of the Bishop-elect, he anticipates every thing good and favorable to the Church, committed to his charge."<sup>17</sup>

It was a generous gesture on the part of a man who himself had large claims to be elected to the office. The news of Chase's election was not well received in the East, and especially by such men as Bishops White and Hobart, Jackson Kemper and the Rev. J. C. Rudd, the latter being active in his efforts to prevent the consecration. Rudd, who was secretary of the Standing Committee of New Jersey, committed to writing vague charges he had heard gravely reflecting on the moral character of Chase, including speculation in slaves during his residence in

<sup>15</sup>*Journal*, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 13.

New Orleans, and for the time being the Standing Committees of New Jersey and Pennsylvania refused to confirm the election.

Meanwhile, ignorant of all this, Chase set out over the mountains for Pennsylvania for consecration. There he learned of the opposition which excited the greatest indignation among his friends. Chase promptly demanded an investigation of the charges and tells the story in his *Reminiscences*.

“But”, said Bishop White, “the standing committees refuse to take up the business in any shape, alleging that they are not a proper tribunal”. “Then”, said the writer, “I request a meeting of the general convention, and stand pledged that the diocese of Ohio will demand the same; for it seems unreasonable that a *Bishop elect* of any state should, by reasons of accusations affecting his character, be sacrificed for want of a proper tribunal before whom he can meet his accusers and repel their charges”.<sup>18</sup>

An investigation was instituted by the Standing Committee of Pennsylvania which acquitted him of the charges, and with that of New Jersey consented to the consecration, which took place in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, on February 11, 1819. The consecrators were Bishops White, Hobart of New York, Croes of New Jersey, and Kemp of Maryland. The next day he mounted his horse and crossed the mountains of Pennsylvania, and on June 2, presided over the annual convention of Ohio which convened at Worthington. Four days later he held his first ordination and confirmed seventy-nine persons.

The large story of his episcopal visitations cannot even be outlined. In September, 1819, he rode five hundred miles on horseback, confirmed eighty-seven persons and visited many scattered families. His services average three a day. Nothing daunted him. “The bad roads”, wrote Doddridge, “logs, brush, and mud of our country oppose no obstacle to the rapidity of his march”. In later years as he looked back on his journeyings oft, he wrote: “Like a dream when one awakeneth, of troubles that are past,—the vast distances of journeyings on horseback, under the burning sun and the pelting rain—through the mud and amid beech-roots—o'er the log bridges and through the swollen streams—it seems all like a dream”.<sup>19</sup> It was, however, no dream, but a stern reality, which wrought havoc with an iron constitution.

These extended visitations made an indelible impression on the bishop's mind—the crying need for missionaries in the Ohio field. Too

<sup>18</sup>*Reminiscences, Vol. I, p. 149.*

<sup>19</sup>*Reminiscences, Vol. .., p. ..*



poor to attend the General Convention of 1821, he sent his son Philander bearing a written appeal to the House of Bishops to send him two or three missionaries "for the work of the Gospel in the wild wood of the West". The appeal met with no response. He met his convention of 1823 with a heavy heart. But encouragement came from an unexpected quarter. The night before the convention he was told of an article which had appeared in the *British Critic* giving a sympathetic account of the work of the Church in Ohio, and which later was reprinted in the *Philadelphia Recorder*. Then it was that he uttered the memorable words: "I will apply to England for assistance. If from what they have seen they think kindly of us, when the whole truth is known they will help us". Even to his closest friends the idea seemed fantastic; and his own son thought he was "crazy". Nevertheless, the bishop laid the plan informally before the members of the convention and wrung a reluctant consent. At a meeting of the diocesan missionary society the following resolution was adopted:

*"Resolved, That this society appoint the Rev. Philander Chase, jun. to cross the Atlantic, with proper credentials, for the purpose of soliciting aid in Great Britain, for the support of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio, and that he be allowed five hundred dollars for his expenses."*

The health of young Philander did not permit of his taking so long a journey and the Bishop determined to go himself, and at his own cost. It will be observed that the original intention was to secure assistance for the work of the diocese in general; it was almost immediately, however, extended "to solicit means to establish a school for the education of young men for the ministry". He was driven to this plan by reason of the fact that candidates for orders in the West were too poor to go to the General Theological Seminary which had just been established, and the men in the Seminary were not disposed to go West. Later Bishop Kemper faced the same condition in the Northwest and established Kemper College in St. Louis and Bishop Benjamin Bosworth Smith founded a seminary in Kentucky. On the 29th day of July 1823, Chase addressed a letter to his brother bishops announcing his intention to go to England to solicit funds for a Seminary in Ohio. He wrote:

"I will endeavor to institute a humble school, to receive and prepare such materials as we have among us. These we will polish under our own eye, to the best of our power; and with these we will build the temple, humble as it may be, to the glory of God."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup>*Reminiscences, Vol. 1, p. 186 ff.*

For this purpose, he asked their approbation and prayers that God would bless the measures.

It was at this point that his troubles began. With one or two exceptions the episcopate was strongly opposed to the plan. Bishop Ravenscroft warmly approved, as at first did Bishop Brownell. To his great distress, Chase encountered determined opposition from Bishop White, the venerable Presiding Bishop, who expressed the tart opinion that Americans should support their own institutions. In a second letter he said that if "young men from Ohio could not afford to go to the General Theological Seminary, they should study under the direction of private clergymen." It was left to Bishop Hobart to write an unhappy chapter in our ecclesiastical history. His opposition to Chase and his plan came near to being malignant. Hobart's personal interest in the newly established General Theological Seminary in New York was so keen that he could brook no rival plan. "No such school," he wrote, "was needed in Ohio where there were scarcely any candidates, and little prospect of there being more than would constitute a small class."<sup>21</sup> If such need should arise, the General Seminary could establish a branch in Ohio. Had Hobart stopped there his attitude could at least have been understood. Unhappily, he went much further. He declared that such an application to England would "tend to degrade the character of the American Episcopacy," and added:

"It may appear my duty to take some pains to prevent the impression, that a measure deemed so injudicious and inexpedient by my brethren and the great body of the Church here, is countenanced by them."<sup>22</sup>

He went so far as to intimate that the accusations against the character of Chase before his consecration, might be revived and predicted "mortifying failure". Chase did not reply to this amazing letter but contented himself with publishing it without comment.

Armed with a solitary letter of introduction from Henry Clay to Lord Gambier, Chase set sail on the packet ship, *Orbit*, on October first. But one clergyman could be found in New York to "accompany him to the ship."

Hobart had already arrived in England and lost no time in disparaging both Chase and his mission, who found that a paper had already been circulated in opposition to his anticipated appeal. Hobart himself had gone so far as to publish a "Note" addressed to the bishops, clergy and laity of the Church of England in which he said:

<sup>21</sup>*Smythe, p. 120.*

<sup>22</sup>*Smythe, p. 120.*

"The undersigned deems it due to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, to make known, that this Church has not, by any act of the General Convention of her Bishops and the Representatives of her Clergy and Laity, the only organ through which that authority can be conveyed, authorized an appeal in her behalf to the parent Church of Great Britain—He is especially persuaded that the great body of her Bishops, her Clergy, and Laity, would not sanction such an appeal from a particular diocese or district, in favor of any local institution, for whatsoever purpose established".<sup>23</sup>

He shrewdly pointed out that the diocese of Ohio had not adopted any plan for the creation of a seminary, and that there was no incorporated body to hold and manage any funds given for that purpose, and he suggested that if members of the Church of England desired to aid any American institution, it should be the General Theological Seminary. The former objection was immediately met by an arrangement that any money given to Ohio should be deposited with a committee of prominent Englishmen and only transferred to America by responsible authority. Meanwhile, the attitude of Hobart effectually blocked, for the time being, any hope of assistance from the members of the High Church party in England.

On the fourth of December Chase was able to present his letter of introduction to Lord Gambier, who at first was definitely cautious. After hearing Chase he was satisfied and gave him a letter of introduction to the Rev. Josiah Pratt, then secretary to the Church Missionary Society, and an influential member of the Evangelical party. Pratt, after some hesitation, fell under the spell of Chase and became a tower of strength. Under his guidance a committee was appointed which published a strong appeal in favor of the project. An arrangement was made whereby Lord Gambier and Henry Hoare, a prominent English banker, should invest the funds until called for by Ohio. Money began to pour in, and success was assured.

The High Church door was first opened by George Whorton Marriott, an English barrister, and a definite High Churchman who obtained subscriptions from many of his associates. The Reverend Hugh James Rose, in whose rectory the Tractarian movement was later born, was won over and wrote Chase:

"I cannot bear to go to a distance without assuring you again of my earnest wishes and prayers for the success of your infant institution, and my ardent hope that you will in that success reach the only earthly reward of your labors which you desire."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup>*Smythe, p. 120.*

<sup>24</sup>*Smythe, p. 137.*

A few of the High Churchmen were implacable. An article appeared in the "British Critic" for May renewing the attack on Chase and his friends in the course of which it said:

"In spite of the respectable names which grace Bishop Chase's subscription list, we are compelled to fear that one object of his undertaking is to alter the character of the American Church, and exchange Episcopal clergymen for Methodist preachers. . . . Bishop Chase and his correspondents already express themselves in language bordering upon fanaticism and folly, and if they are to be the tutors of the future clergy of Ohio, that clergy will rival the primitive Methodists and Ranters. . . . Methodism has at present little footing in America; or rather it is confined to those who glory in the name, and has made no formidable inroads upon the Apostolical Church. Future times may date its rise from the stone about to be laid in Ohio."<sup>25</sup>

Such an ill informed attack served to defeat its purpose, and it became evident to Hobart and his English friends that Chase was destined to succeed. Hobart then attempted a compromise. He proposed that the Ohio school should be a branch of the General Theological Seminary; that two-thirds of the money given in England should go to the Ohio school and one-third to the General Seminary. Given these conditions, Hobart promised his co-operation and suggested that Chase would then "have the satisfaction of accomplishing his object without any of the unpleasant feelings & consequences which may otherwise result from it". Chase rejected the plan.

Finally a "Minute of Agreement" was signed which virtually left the victory with Chase. Hobart left London for a visit to Rome, and Chase said, "May the good God pardon, protect, and bless him". The sum of twenty thousand dollars was contributed in England and on the 17th of June the Bishop sailed from Liverpool for the far-flung West, where he found six clergymen in the Ohio field. In November he met the seventh convention of the diocese and reported the death of his son, Philander, likewise the gift of communion plate given by Mr. John Bowdle of England for the use of the Seminary Chapel.

The main business of the convention was to formulate a constitution for the Seminary, without which the money collected in England could not be transferred. It was so done under the title of "The Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio." The management was to be vested in a board of trustees consisting of the bishop with four clerical and four lay trustees elected by the convention. It was incorporated by an act of the Legislature on December 29, 1824.

<sup>25</sup>*Smythe*, p. 138.



The original plan was to establish "a humble school" where a comparatively few men could be trained for the ministry—a theological seminary. Gradually, however Chase evolved a larger plan. As he moved about the diocese he was impressed with the need for some institution where teachers of rural schools could be trained; also that the theological students would need academic training. Out of this grew the idea of caring for other men who had no intention of entering the ministry—a College. To this, some of the trustees objected, but in vain. In 1826 the Act of Incorporation was amended providing that the president and professors of the Seminary were to be "considered as the faculty of a College, and as such, have the power of conferring degrees in the arts and sciences, and of performing all other such acts as pertain unto the Faculties of Colleges . . . and the certificates of learning given shall be those of the President and Professors of Kenyon College, in the State of Ohio."<sup>26</sup>

The College was thus a preparatory branch of the Theological Seminary, and degrees were conferred not in the name of the Seminary, but in the name of Kenyon College.

Considerable difference of opinion among the trustees developed concerning the location of the institution. Several towns competed for the privilege, but on this point Chase was adamant—it must be in the country, far from the temptations of town life, for it was to be definitely a Christian institution. Pending the selection of a site it was housed at Worthington where two temporary buildings were erected and used in addition to a farm house and the bishop's residence. Every effort was made to minimize the cost to the students. The charges for a term of thirty weeks were as follows:

For boarding and contingent expenses of	
candidates for orders,	\$50.00
For do of collegians,	70.00
For do of grammar school pupils,	60.00

These charges included all expenses save stationery, books and clothing.

In 1826 eight thousand acres of land were purchased in the virgin forest of Knox County. Chase's plan was to sell half of this tract to help to pay for the other half. Accompanied by his little son, Dudley, the bishop rode to the place which he called Gambier, to take possession in the name of the Lord. The first night was passed in a log cabin at the foot of the hill, and the next day a hired man cut a path through the tangled brush to the summit. A tent of split timbers with a mud

<sup>26</sup>*Smythe, pp. 143-44.*

chimney, furnished with bedsteads made of stakes and beds of straw, provided a home for the bishop during the summer. When the little boy grew to manhood he recalled how "lying on our beds of straw at night we heard the howl of the wolf, the call of the fox, and the hoot of the owl, but in the daytime we were more seriously annoyed by the numerous rattlesnakes". Meanwhile, the workmen cleared about eight hundred acres and built rough roads.

Spiritual concerns were not forgotten. On the first sabbath a Sunday School was held under the trees, the children sitting on split rails. The arrival of a visitor with half a cheese and twenty-five dollars was hailed as a special act of Providence.

Chase himself was a hard worker. His day usually began by writing letters at three o'clock in the morning; then followed interviews with masons and carpenters, and the task of building steadily proceeded. He watched over every detail, being chief forester, farmer, architect and builder. His activities are enshrined in the college song still sung at every Kenyon Commencement:

The first of Kenyon's goodly race  
Was that great man, Philander Chase.  
He climbed the hill and said a prayer,  
And founded Kenyon College there.

He dug up stones, he chopped down trees,  
He sailed across the stormy seas,  
And begged at every noble's door,  
And also that of Hannah More.<sup>27</sup>

The king, the queen, the lords, the earls,  
They gave their crowns, they gave their pearls,  
Until Philander had enough  
And hurried homeward with the stuff.

He built the college, built the dam,  
He milked the cow, he smoked the ham;  
He taught the classes, rang the bell,  
And spanked the naughty freshmen well.

And thus he worked with all his might,  
For Kenyon College day and night.  
And Kenyon's heart still keeps a place  
Of love for old Philander Chase.

<sup>27</sup>*An allusion to the fact that while in England the Bishop visited Hannah More.*

In 1828 Henry Caswell, a nephew of the Bishop of Salisbury, came out from England and entered as a student at Kenyon. In later years he graphically described his arrival at Gambier and his first glimpse of Bishop Chase :

“At length I reached the hill on which Gambier is situated. . . . I requested to be driven to the bishop’s residence, and to my consternation I was deposited at the door of a small and rough log cabin, which could boast of but one little window, composed of four squares of the most common glass. ‘Is this the bishop’s palace?’ I involuntarily exclaimed . . . On knocking for admittance the door was opened by the bishop’s wife, who told me that the bishop had gone to his mill for some flour and would soon return. I had waited but a few minutes when I heard a powerful voice outside, and immediately after the bishop entered with one of his workmen. The good prelate, then fifty-three years of age, was of more than ordinary size, and his black cassock bore evident tokens of his recent visit to the mill.”

After a frugal meal Mr. Caswell was taken to see the college building which was then about half completed. The walls were four feet thick at the foundation and tapered to three feet on the second floor. At the moment, funds were exhausted, but the bishop expressed the confident hope that “God would continue as heretofore to supply him, like Elijah in the wilderness”. Out of sheer gratitude to his English benefactors their names were given to buildings still to be erected—Kenyon, for Lord Kenyon; Gambier, for Lord Gambier; Sutton Square bore the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Chapel was named in honor of Lady Rosse.

Caswell, who by this time had become a candidate for orders, gives an interesting description of life at the College. The Reverend William Sparrow was professor of divinity with a stipend of \$600 and a small house; C. W. Fitch had the chair of Languages; Mr. McElroy that of Mathematics, and Mr. Kendrick taught mental and moral philosophy. The grammar school had two or three teachers. There were about 170 students in the college, their ages ranging from twenty to thirty; of these some thirty were preparing for the ministry and Caswell remarks that “perhaps in the whole institution about forty young persons are religiously disposed”.

The plan laid down by the bishop for the running of the institution had in it the germs of the friction which afterwards developed with such disastrous results. Chase himself did not teach; that he left to his faculty, but he exercised discipline with an iron hand. Of necessity he was absent seeking funds from time to time and the faculty established regular meetings for consultation. This Chase regarded as trench-

ing on his authority and he gradually persuaded himself that there were some who desired to curtail what they called "the *too great power* given by our Constitutions and Canons to American Bishops". On the other hand, both faculty and students rebelled against the college fare, and the former were up in arms against the autocratic rule of the president who disbursed all the monies and fixed all salaries without consultation with the trustees. According to Chase Kenyon differed from all other colleges in "that the whole Institution is Patriarchal. . . . This Patriarchal establishment must, it is obvious, have a Father, & that Father must be clothed with authority to seek and effect the common good. Deprive him of this and the family must come to ruin".<sup>28</sup> The faculty was not disposed to accept the patriarchal theory and they issued a pamphlet declaring that the bishop's claim was "contrary to the usages of colleges in general, and to the spirit of our age and country".<sup>29</sup> The story of the controversy is enshrined from the bishop's point of view in his *Reminiscences* and in a pamphlet entitled *Defence Against Conspiracy*. Dr. Sparrow, who was the gentlest of men, replied for the faculty in *A Reply to the Charges and Accusations of the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D.*

It was inevitable that the matter should come before the diocesan convention which met in a candle-lit room at Gambier on September 7, 1831. The bishop lost no time in stating the issue reporting that he had received a document signed by "the Professors of Kenyon College", and in the handwriting of the Rev. William Sparrow, accusing him of maintaining and exercising a principle of "absolute and unlimited power". This charge he publicly and solemnly denied, and added, "I come to this Convention representing my diocese, with an open breast, willing to be slain if guilty, and demanding an acquittal if innocent".

Being in great pain from a recent accident the bishop then repaired to his basement home in old Kenyon having, as he said, "seen enough to convince him that some leaders in the diocese were siding with the faculty and joining in 'putting down the bishop'." A committee was appointed to consider and report on the part of the episcopal address relating to Kenyon. The committee reported that the bishop could not invoke his episcopal functions in his capacity as president of the college and that its government could not be delegated either to the bishop or the faculty. It rested with the trustees acting under the constitution. It further counselled patience on both sides until such time as the trustees could settle the differences. It was a pathetic situation.

After attending divine service when a sermon was preached by

<sup>28</sup>Smythe, p. 151.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 156.



the Reverend Ethan Allen on "Peace", the aging bishop returned to his home, a broken man. There he composed the following letter:

*To the CLERGY AND LAITY of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Ohio, assembled in Convention in Gambier on this, the 9th day of September, 1831.*

BRETHREN:

We have heard this day in a sermon preached by the Rev. Ethan Allen, from God's word (which I desire him to publish), that we must *live in peace*, or we cannot be Christians: and that to secure peace, especially that of God's Church, great sacrifices must sometimes be made. Influenced by these principles, I am willing, in order to secure the peace of *God's Church* and that of our *loved Seminary*, in addition to the sacrifices which by the grace of God have been already made, to resign, and I do hereby resign the Episcopate of this Diocese, and with it, what I consider constitutionally identified, the Presidency of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Ohio. The Convention will make this known to the Trustees, whom I can now no longer meet in my official family.

PHILANDER CHASE.

The convention received this communication with "a sensation of awe", and every effort was made to induce the bishop to change his mind, but without avail. At a secret session the fateful letter was read and the following resolution adopted:

*Resolved*, That the resignation of the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, be received, and that the Episcopate of the Diocese of Ohio is hereby declared vacant".

Under all the circumstances, perhaps, this action was inevitable. But what followed might well have been decently deferred. Within two short hours, and by a unanimous vote, the Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine, rector of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, New York, was elected second bishop of Ohio. That Philander Chase made mistakes of judgment cannot be questioned, but to Kenyon he had given rare devotion; for her he had sacrificed health and material possessions, all of which was forgotten when the crisis came.

With a heavy heart he left Gambier, and accompanied by his son Dudley, a lad of fourteen, passed through the village only pausing to impart his blessing to the mechanics and workmen. Some twenty miles away he took shelter in a deserted cabin. Within a few days his family arrived and there they lived through a very cold winter. When asked, he replied, "I live at the end of the road, in the Valley of Peace", and he thanked God for "that unusual degree of health and spirits which he hath caused me to enjoy ever since my banishment".

Sunday by Sunday he gathered in his cabin such as were disposed to come and read to them, and to his family, the prayers of the Church. It is on record that on Easter Day, 1832, he administered the Sacrament of the Lord Supper "in an unconsecrated building, about five miles from the *Valley of Peace*". Dr. Smythe makes the interesting suggestion that this was probably the last service Chase held in Ohio until the year 1850, when in length of days, and honored by the whole Church as Presiding Bishop, he celebrated the Holy Communion at the opening of the General Convention at Cincinnati.

In April, 1832, the bishop and his family moved to Michigan where he purchased a tract of land which he called Gilead, and on his way there preached at Monroe. On land for which he paid a dollar and a quarter an acre he followed the ploughman sowing corn and had no bed to sleep on save a rough board, while on Sundays he ministered in the neighboring settlements. The workmen slept in the covered wagon; the two boys in the Quaker coach, while the bishop found shelter in a corner of a single room occupied by the ploughman and his family.

Gilead was in the center of the St. Joseph country embracing about one hundred square miles, partly in Michigan and partly in Indiana, and where there was no Protestant church. Chase held services regularly in this wide area and continued so to do until the quite unexpected news arrived that he had been elected bishop of the new diocese of Illinois in 1835.

The Church in the State of Ohio has many stars in the crown of her rejoicing; not the least, that of Philander Chase.

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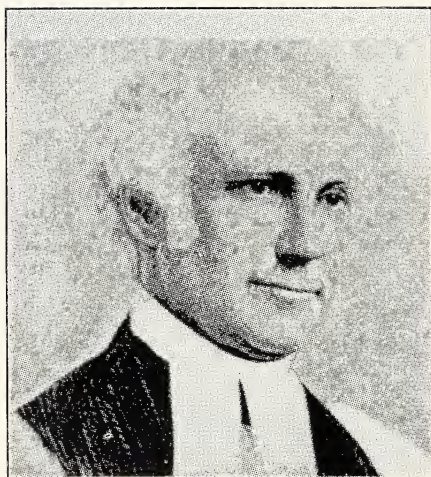
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Dr. Sparrow was a teacher in the early days of Kenyon.

There are a large number of Chase letters and other papers in the Library of Kenyon College.





CHARLES PETTIT MCILVAINE  
*January 18, 1799 - March 3, 1873*  
*Second Bishop of Ohio: 1822 - 1873*



## THE McILVAINE EPISCOPATE

*By B. Z. Stambaugh*

**S**COTLAND has produced many theologians, but few saints. The second bishop of Ohio was a Scot and a theologian; but he was also a saint.

He had need of all the caninness of his Scottish ancestry in undertaking the task set before him; but the survival of the Church in Ohio, during the earlier years of his episcopate, can be accounted for only by the profound spirituality of his leadership.

Charles Pettit McIlvaine became bishop of Ohio on October 31, 1832. He had been born at Burlington, New Jersey, on January 18, 1799, and was thus only thirty-three at the time of his consecration. His father, Joseph McIlvaine, had been a well known lawyer, and represented New Jersey in the United States Senate from 1823 to 1826. Both parents had been communicants of St. Mary's Church in Burlington, but had been so influenced by the spirit of the times and of the region that the future bishop was not baptized until after he had entered college.

He took his bachelor's degree from Princeton in 1816, and a year later became a student in the theological seminary of the same institution,—as there were no Episcopal seminaries yet established. Without question, the ardently evangelical character of his later ministry, together with his sympathetic understanding of non-conformity in general, owes something to the Presbyterian environment of these years.

He was ordered deacon on June 18, 1820, by Bishop White, and was placed at once in charge of Christ Church, Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, where he was made rector upon his ordination to the priesthood a year later. This rectorship was highly successful, and gave scope to the development of his extraordinary preaching ability. Twice, in this period, he was chosen as chaplain of the Senate, where his father held a seat, and many famous people became regular worshippers at Christ Church.

In 1824 John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, who had been a regular attendant upon the services at Christ Church, appointed Mr. McIlvaine as chaplain at West Point,<sup>1</sup> where he served with remark-

<sup>1</sup>*During his ministry as chaplain at West Point a remarkable revival of religion broke out and McIlvaine was charged with an effort to turn a Military Academy into a Theological Seminary. One outcome of the revival was the conversion of Leonidas Polk, then a cadet at the Academy, and in later years Bishop of Louisiana.*

able effect until called to St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, in 1827. The call to St. Ann's was a rather astonishing event, in that it marked the conclusion of an unpleasant controversy between himself and the former rector, Dr. H. U. Onderdonk. Dr. Onderdonk had been elected assistant-bishop of Pennsylvania, and the dispute had risen over matters of churchmanship.

It was during his rectorship of St. Ann's that Mr. Ilvaine acquired a well-sustained reputation for skill and learning as a theologian. Being pressed into service by the newly organized University of the City of New York, as lecturer on Christian Evidences, he produced a body of material which was later published, and became for several years the outstanding text-book in the field,—going into six editions.

Meanwhile, Bishop Chase had resigned from the diocese of Ohio, under circumstances peculiarly distressing. The diocese proceeded to elect Mr. Ilvaine to succeed him. Mr. McIlvaine had not sought the election, and was, indeed, rather horrified at the prospect. During his visit to England, for his health, in 1830, he had become acquainted with several of the English noblemen who had helped with the founding of Kenyon College,—notably, Lord Kenyon, Lord Bexley, and Admiral Gambier,—but whether their interest and influence had entered into the election is a matter for speculation only. At any rate, he seems to have struggled valiantly with the problem,—which was further complicated by two most attractive calls to become rector of St. Paul's, Boston, and of St. Thomas', New York. Apparently it was the stark hardship of the Ohio prospect which seemed to convince him that it was his duty.

The resignation of Bishop Chase, however, was being contested on technical grounds. Even at this early date, the American Church had tacitly committed itself,—without, however, taking any canonical action on the matter,—to the idea that, although order and jurisdiction are not identical, a bishop assumes his office for life. A large minority in Ohio,—mostly those who wished for the return of Bishop Chase,—insisted that, since a bishop cannot resign his office, there was no vacancy, and that, therefore, the election was invalid. The convention of 1832 debated the case with much heat and with a complication of amendments and substitutions, but finally emerged with a second election of Mr. McIlvaine. General Convention decided the case in October of 1832. Dr. Smythe says: "General Convention gave most careful consideration to the question whether the episcopal office of Ohio was really and canonically vacant. The matter was debated ably and at great length, but the outcome was inevitable; because, whether a bishop could or could not resign, it was evident that he could abandon his dio-

cese; for Bishop Chase had done so. Ohio had no bishop."<sup>2</sup> The vote was taken in the affirmative, and the testimonials of Mr. McIlvaine were signed. Upon concurrence by the House of Bishops, he was consecrated in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, on October 31, 1832.<sup>3</sup> His consecrators were White, Griswold, and Meade,—truly an illustrious succession.

Here was a young man, gently born, reared in the midst of culture and security, accustomed to the society of educated people,—about to undertake the leadership of a pioneer diocese. He was tall, slender, graceful, and handsome. Yet he was never physically robust, and his manners were quiet and reserved. Ohio was a new country, peopled by hardy, aggressive, unconventional men and women, whose ways were simple and abrupt. Life in Ohio was exposed to the rigours of a severe and uncertain climate, and was surrounded by the perils and hardships of primitive conditions. Houses were roughly built and bare of all conveniences. Roads were few and uniformly bad. He must make his visitations by horse-back or by stage-coach. Taverns were crowded and dirty. Distances were immense.

The Episcopal Church, with its ideals of dignity in worship and simplicity in ethics, had little attraction for the rude, hearty, and usually unlettered inhabitants of the region. Here religion meant excitement and excess,—violent conversion and fantastic regulations of conduct. Bishop Chase, with his rugged background of the New Hampshire hill country, and with his own aggressive, pioneering temperament, had easily adapted himself to these ways,—fighting back at what displeased him in the religion of the region and making himself at home among all sorts of people. Bishop McIlvaine, however, was entering a new and terrible world. His quiet and reserve were often mistaken for pride and contempt, while the awkward shyness of the people frequently impressed him as evidence of haughtiness and intentional rudeness. There had been little in his disposition or training to fit him for the career of a missionary bishop in such a field. Yet with humility and perseverance, he immediately undertook the work, seeking always,—as his letters and diaries testify,—to find in himself the blame for every mistake or misunderstanding.

Bishop McIlvaine's letters and personal papers reveal an emotional religious life closely allied to that of many mediaeval saints. He was much given to self-analysis, and wrote long, detailed descriptions of his spiritual state and spiritual meditations. Part of this, no doubt, should

<sup>2</sup>*Smythe. History of the Church in Ohio to 1918, p. 183.*

<sup>3</sup>*This is the only occasion in the history of this Church when four bishops were consecrated at the one service. The others were George Washington Doane, for New Jersey, Benjamin Bosworth Smith for Kentucky and John Henry Hopkins for Vermont.*

be laid to the sentimental and extravagant language characteristic of the time. Yet the contrast with Bishop Chase reminds one constantly of our modern distinction between the introvert and the extrovert. Bishop Chase was pre-eminently the man of action,—practical and resourceful. Bishop McIlvaine was a thinker and a dreamer, as well as a patient worker. His plans were often made in elaborate detail, but often proved entirely impossible of realization. Yet he was a man who could take disappointments, as Chase would never do, and could continue to do his best without too great a sense of frustration.

Within a month after his consecration, Bishop McIlvaine had made his first visitation in Ohio, at St. James' Church, Zanesville. Wherever he went, his extraordinary power in the pulpit did much to break down the natural barriers between himself and the people. Churches of other denominations offered the use of their buildings in those places where the Episcopalians had no church of their own, and by his complete understanding of, and sympathy with their points of view, he was able to do much to bridge the gulf between religious groups. In about a year he had visited every parish and every mission station in the diocese. He had travelled by horse-back, by carriage, by stage-coach, by river boat and on foot. His devotion, his courage, his sincerity, and his consecration had overcome all difficulties and had already won to him affection and loyalty from the people who had been at the outset repelled.

In 1832 there were seventeen clergymen in Ohio, including the bishop, and six consecrated churches, not including two unconsecrated buildings in use. Within three years there were forty-six clergymen and twenty-eight churches,—with a dozen others under construction or ready for consecration. Twenty-four new parishes were started during the same period. There were sixteen candidates for holy orders.

Fortunately for the growth of these years, the entire country was enjoying a high tide of material prosperity. It was not hard to secure money for parochial or diocesan projects. It was easier each year for the bishop to make his visitations, on account of many new and better roads, together with the opening of the canals.

Several names stand out among the clergy of this period, as representing heroic achievements: Doddridge and Searle were gone to their reward before Bishop McIlvaine came; but Ethan Allen, Intrepid Morse, (nephew of Bishop Chase,) Benjamin Aydelotte, James McElroy, Henry Caswall, Erasmus Burr, Alvah Guion, Alfred Blake, Alexander Varian, and Anson Clark deserve a high place in the memory of the Church.

The church buildings erected in this period were nearly all worthy



of the dignity to which they were intended. It was the time of the Greek revival. Carpenters and stonemasons still, like those of the colonial era, were capable draughtsmen, and usually designed their own work,—or at least made adaptations from the drawings that a great age of architectural skill and aesthetic appreciation had bequeathed. The simple lines of the New England meeting house prevailed in the Western Reserve, while further south could be felt the influence of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The chancel of the church, of course, was not indicated in its structure. It was simply a part of the nave cut off by the communion rail. The pulpit towered above everything else, at the center of the rear wall, and the communion table stood on the slightly raised platform below. Episcopal churches seem to have differed from others only by having a prayer desk in addition,—also centered in the line of pulpit and communion table, usually below the former, and above the latter. Many of these buildings still survive, but the interior arrangement is now more in keeping with Anglican tradition. In the second decade of Bishop McIlvaine's episcopate Ohio architects began to hear echoes of the Gothic revival, and for the next twenty years produced many dignified and sturdy churches,—lacking in originality, perhaps, but seldom violating the canons of good taste.

The use of the surplice was still very uncommon. The clergy did wear a black gown,—probably what is now known as the "Geneva gown,"—for the services and for preaching. This alone was sufficient to arouse comment from the people of the denominations. It was one of the "frills and furbelows" which characterized Episcopalianism in their eyes. At St. Paul's, Cincinnati, Trinity, Cleveland, and St. Peter's, Ashtabula, the surplice was worn regularly. But these parishes were generally considered to be hopelessly "high church". As the surplice gradually came into more general acceptance, it was usually worn only in the offices themselves, and the black gown was donned for the sermon, a not altogether illogical bit of ceremonial.

Choirs were placed in the rear galleries in those days, and were never vested,—until the late forties. Hymns were an innovation from the evangelical side of churchmanship, and their use was resisted mightily by conservative churchmen. There seems to have been no objection to the use of organs, and they were found in all the larger churches.

It was the day of "revivals" in all the denominations. Naturally, Episcopalians were somewhat influenced by the excitement which thus periodically swayed every community. Bishop McIlvaine's instinctive tendency toward emotional religion must have influenced his people, too, and made them more susceptible to such movements. Yet he also

recognized the danger in them, and frequently uttered warnings in regard to them.

During the first decade of Bishop McIlvaine's episcopate the Oxford Movement began in England. Soon its repercussions began to be felt in Ohio. From the outset, the bishop was vigorous in his opposition. It drew from him more bitterness of language and more militant activity than any other problem he ever faced. His attitude was not merely that of outraged conservatism, nor that of anti-Roman prejudice. He had been far too deeply influenced by Genevan theology in his youth to be blind to the clear doctrinal implications involved. So his part in the controversy was devoted to theology, rather than to questions of ritual and ceremonial.

In his own diocese, however, "Oxford theology" had scarcely penetrated, and his concern had to be with minor matters of usage. As time went on, it became necessary for him to adopt definite regulations with regard to the "innovations" that persisted in appearing. Many of these seem amusing to us now, and occasionally he himself seemed to see that, in themselves, the matters in dispute were of slight importance,—except as they implied doctrinal changes to which he was opposed.

One of his rules had to do with the structure of the communion table. He made it a rule never to consecrate a church with an "altar." The Lord's table must be a true table,—standing on legs,—you must be able to see through beneath it. Several churches remained for some time unconsecrated because of this rule.

There is an unverified legend to the effect that a certain clergyman had provided his new church with a wooden altar with paneled sides, and that he had failed to let the bishop know about it until the night before the date of the consecration. The bishop inspected the church, on his arrival, saw the "popish" piece of furniture, and said nothing. With much nervousness the rector went on with his plans, but was astonished the next morning to find that someone during the night had knocked out the panels in the front and sides of the altar,—leaving it a proper table,—with legs. The bishop proceeded serenely with the consecration. Upon his departure the panels were found and were replaced. It is said that those unconsecrated panels still profane the otherwise holy table. It is also said that those who saw Bishop McIlvaine's heavy walking stick, on the morning of the consecration, observed that its somewhat battered head was streaked with paint and varnish of the same color as the new communion table.

Almost at the beginning of his work in Ohio, Bishop McIlvaine recognized a desperate situation in regard to Kenyon College. The

Bishop was, constitutionally, president of the college and responsible for its existence. It had been the college that had wrecked Bishop Chase's episcopate, and it was already threatening to do the same for his successor. Through the church press and through various pamphlets and booklets, circulated in this country and in England, Bishop McIlvaine explained the needs of the case, and was able to secure funds from time to time. But the burden of the diocese itself left him little time to give careful attention to the work of the faculty of which he was the head. As in the case of his predecessor, he found a disposition among the faculty to resent his authority and to take matters into their own hands. The trustees also worked against him, and took action far more hostile than that which had precipitated Bishop Chase's resignation. Instead of resigning, however, Bishop McIlvaine bided his time, brought about gradual changes in the board, and finally gained a complete and overwhelming victory over his opponents.

One of the sharpest controversies in the diocese arose in 1845. Bishop McIlvaine had been a member of the ecclesiastical court that had, the year previously, found Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, of New York, guilty of immoral conduct, and had suspended him from his office. The sharp division on questions of churchmanship, in the House of Bishops, had introduced much extraneous matter into the case, and had given rise to much partizanship within the Church. There was widespread belief, on the part of his sympathizers, that Bishop Onderdonk had been the victim of persecution because of his espousal of the Oxford Movement and his famous ordination of Arthur Carey. The vestry of St. Peter's Church, Ashtabula, adopted a series of resolutions, soon afterward, attacking sharply the good faith and the judgment of the bishops who had composed the court. This was published in the New York *"Churchman."* Bishop McIlvaine replied through the columns of the *"Western Episcopalian"*, which was published at Gambier, and the Ashtabula vestry, through its spokesman, came back in violent terms. The matter grew, at length, to such proportions that the bishop declined to make visitations to the parish until the offending resolutions should be rescinded and removed from the parish records. Before long other parishes were involved in the rebellion against the bishop's position,—Trinity Church and Grace, in Cleveland, and St. Paul's, Columbus. As a result of the bishop's effort to secure for Trinity, Cleveland, a rector more nearly in accord with his views, St. Paul's parish came into being. But when the diocesan convention met it strongly sustained the bishop's position, and in a short time even St. Peter's vestry at Ashtabula capitulated.

From his student days in Princeton, Bishop McIlvaine had been

greatly interested in Sunday Schools. He did everything possible to encourage their organization in his diocese. In the late fifties and early sixties the number of children enrolled in the Sunday Schools far exceeded the number of communicants.

During all the arduous years of his work Bishop McIlvaine had used unsparingly his delicate and highly organized physical equipment. Frequent were the illnesses that compelled him to slow up his activities or to take sea voyages,—usually to be among his many dear friends in England. There were frequent suggestions of dividing the diocese, and many fantastic schemes were offered,—not least amazing of which was that of the bishop himself, who proposed to make of Ohio five dioceses, four of which should be subsidiary to the other,—a kind of archiepiscopal see including Gambier and Columbus.

Instead of dividing the diocese, however, the convention at length decided to call an assistant bishop, in the person of Gregory Thurston Bedell, rector of the Church of the Ascension in New York. Bishop Bedell brought with him to Ohio the renewed interest in Kenyon College of a parish that had always been generous toward its support. Almost immediately the money came for the erection of a college building which was called Ascension Hall. A little later came further help for the building of the Church of the Holy Spirit on the campus. From this time on, Bishop McIlvaine profited by the help of a faithful worker who gave him loyal and unstinted service. It is not often that two men of such high abilities and such qualities of leadership can work together in so much harmony.

It was in the third and fourth decades of Bishop McIlvaine's service that the Civil War disrupted the nation. The bishop had always been opposed to slavery, and states' rights had seemed to him a bit of technical nonsense. From the beginning of the conflict he had been an ardent supporter of the Federal cause. Naturally, therefore, he was chosen as one of the influential people to be sent to England as ambassadors of good will at the time of the "Trent affair". He already bore honorary degrees from both Oxford and Cambridge, and was very cordially received wherever he went. He had no small part in bringing about a peaceful conclusion to the matter, at this very critical time in history.

Immediately after the war there came another period of heated controversy, once more on matters of churchmanship. The faculty and students at Gambier were greatly involved this time, and several resignations resulted. It was at this period that Bishop McIlvaine forbade surpliced choirs and prohibited the processional hymn. These are his words: "The rubric says, 'The minister shall begin the Morning (or



Evening) Prayer by reading one or more of the following sentences of Scripture.' Therefore it cannot lawfully be begun by a choir singing hymns while walking into church." The matter of vested choirs he disposed of by appeal to the canon which forbids lay readers "to assume the dress appropriate to clergymen ministering in the congregation," saying that if the clerical garb is forbidden to lay readers it is certainly, by implication, not permitted to the choristers, who are not even mentioned in the canonical organization of the Church.<sup>4</sup>

The McIlvaine episcopate marks the years of greatest change and progress in the diocese of Ohio. From a still savage wilderness the region was transformed, in those forty years, to a very prosperous and populous state. From badly made stage roads and river boats, the means of travel and communication had developed, through the period of canals and well-made roads, into the time of a railway net-work that reached every corner. The telegraph had come in, the steel industry was growing, public schools flourished in every hamlet, and the state was filling with other colleges and universities to bear the torch with Kenyon.

In spite of controversies and frequent set-backs, the Church in Ohio had grown. It had become one of the outstanding dioceses of the American Church. Beautiful and dignified houses of worship, enthusiastic workers, and distinguished clergy, were among its marks. (Not until the close of this episcopate did the age of architectural frightfulness in church building begin,—and Ohio's disfigurement has not yet been overcome.) Few men have been privileged to look back upon such remarkable accomplishment, to see their own enduring monument taking form with such vast proportions, as was Charles Pettit McIlvaine.

In 1872, aged and ill, Bishop McIlvaine took again the pleasant sea voyage to England, never to return. In January of 1873, he journeyed with his old friends, Canon and Mrs. Carus, to the Continent. At Florence, on the twelfth of March, he passed quietly and serenely out of this world. The body was taken to England and rested four days in Westminster Abbey, where Dean Stanley read the burial office. It was then sent to New York, where another service was held in St. Paul's Chapel, the scene of his consecration twoscore years previously. Again, in Cincinnati, the Ohio clergy were led in their service by Bishop Bedell, and finally the body was laid to rest in Clifton.

"Charles Pettit McIlvaine had been a great man and a great bishop, an eminent servant of his Church and his Country."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>*Smythe, p. 327 f.*

<sup>5</sup>*Smythe, p.*

## THE DIOCESE OF SOUTHERN OHIO AND ITS BISHOPS

*By Thomas Lloyd Bush*

“In the freshness and strength of your years you go to a field interesting in itself, and still more so from its associations with illustrious master builders gone before. You will not turn a furrow in that field, or set a stone in the wall which encloses it, without being reminded of those whose labor you have entered.”

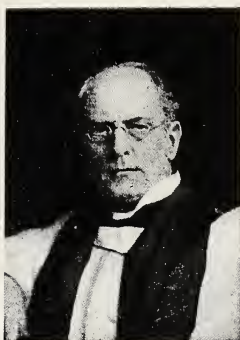
**S**O said Bishop Littlejohn of Long Island in preaching the sermon on the occasion of the consecration of Thomas A. Jaggar as the first Bishop of Southern Ohio in 1875.

As this quotation indicates, the bishop was coming to a diocese which, though new in name, was rich in history and tradition. It embraced not only the oldest settlements in the territory and the state capitals, but it was also the scene of the Church's first missionary work in Ohio. Within its borders the first congregation was organized, and there Bishop Chase lived during the earlier years of his episcopate. Worthington housed the first “school of the prophets” from which Kenyon College later sprang.

The large story of the work of the Church in Ohio, as a whole, has been told in a monumental volume from the gifted pen of the late Dr. George Franklin Smythe. It will long remain the standard book on the subject. With the exception of a short chapter on Southern Ohio the volume is largely concerned with the diocese before its division, and then with the episcopates of Bishops Bedell and Leonard.<sup>1</sup> The subsequent story of the diocese of Southern Ohio and its bishops has yet to be written, and it will be well worth the telling. This article concerns itself only with an outline of the contributions made to Church life and thought during the administrations of Bishops Jaggar, Boyd Vincent, Reese and the present bishop, Henry Wise Hobson.

During the later years of Bishop McIlvaine the question of the division of the diocese was agitated though he endeavored to forestall it by the election of an assistant bishop in the person of Gregory Thurston Bedell. The frail health of the senior bishop took him away for considerable periods, most of which were spent in Europe. The

<sup>1</sup>Smythe. *The History of the Church in Ohio to 1918.*

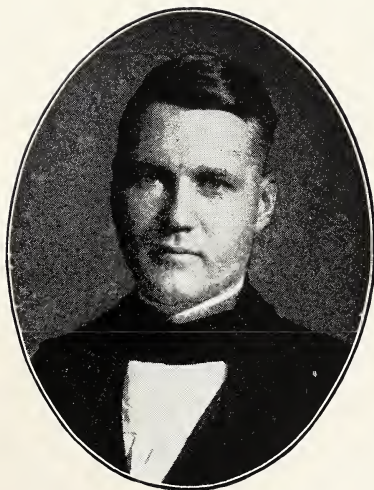


BOYD VINCENT

*May 18, 1845 - January 14, 1935*

*Bishop Coadjutor of Southern Ohio: 1889 - 1904*

*Second Bishop of Southern Ohio: 1904 - 1929*



HENRY WISE HOBSON

*May 16, 1891 - ———*

*Bishop Coadjutor of Southern Ohio:  
1930 - 1931*

*Fourth Bishop of Southern Ohio:  
1931 - ———*





burden proved too heavy for Bishop Bedell who broke down under the strain and had to absent himself from the diocese for several months. In 1872, at the urgent demand of his physicians, Bishop McIlvaine again visited Europe, and on the twelfth day of March, 1873, he died in Florence, Italy. After a service in Westminster Abbey, he was brought home and laid to rest in Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, in his own diocese which he had served so faithfully and efficiently for nearly forty years.

It became evident that Bishop Bedell could not administer a diocese which covered the whole state of Ohio. Hence, at the convention of 1874, a motion was adopted for division, "of which the northern part shall be called the diocese of Ohio, and the other shall be the new diocese". Bishop Bedell consented to the division and announced his intention "to make Cleveland his ecclesiastical residence", though, for the most part, he continued to reside at Gambier. In the number of communicants and financial strength the two divisions were relatively the same.

At the outset the new diocese embraced such places, among others, as Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Chillicothe, Zanesville, Marietta, and the historic parish of Worthington. As numbers go today, the number of communicants was not large in any one parish. Christ Church, Dayton, had 269; Columbus, 340; Chillicothe, 116; Marietta, 87, and Worthington, 56. The strength of the diocese was in Cincinnati where Christ Church had 405 communicants; St. Paul's, 327; Trinity, 75. The Church of the Advent, Walnut Hills, had 221.

The primary convention convened at Columbus on January 13, 1875, with an attendance of thirty-four clergymen and lay representatives from thirty-five parishes. The Rev. R. Gray preached the sermon on "Let brotherly love continue", and the Rev. Dr. Burr presided. After considerable debate, in which several cities competed for the honor of giving a name to the diocese, it was determined to call it the "Diocese of Southern Ohio".

At the time the convention met the Church at large was disturbed by a sharp conflict of ecclesiastical parties. The prolonged ritual conflict was at its height and was the occasion of classic debates in the General Convention. Later Catholics like Dr. James De Koven and Dr. Ferdinand C. Ewer, with their doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, were in the zenith of their influence, and the Evangelicals were genuinely alarmed at what they regarded as "Romish" tendencies. The more so, because a group of aggressive Low Churchmen, led by the Rev. Dr. Cheney of Chicago, and George D. Cummins, assistant bishop of Kentucky, had seceded to form the Reformed Episcopal Church.

In the choice of its first bishop the new diocese manifested its determination to maintain the Evangelical traditions established in Ohio by Philander Chase and maintained by McIlvaine and Bedell.

The choice fell upon the Reverend Thomas Augustus Jaggard, rector of the Evangelical Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia. Born in New York on June 2, 1839, he was ordered deacon in 1860, and advanced to the priesthood three years later by Horatio Potter, bishop of New York. After serving in other parishes he eventually succeeded Philips Brooks in Philadelphia. Dr. Jaggard ranked as a "Low Churchman". An attempt was made to block the confirmation of his election as bishop on the ground, that in common with a group of influential Evangelical clergy, he had signed a letter expressing sympathy with the Rev. Doctor Cheney of Chicago, who had been deposed from the ministry for refusing to use the words "regenerate" and "regeneration" in the Office of Baptism, on the ground that it sanctioned the doctrine of baptismal regeneration which was anathema to the Low Churchmen. This effort, however, failed, and Dr. Jaggard was consecrated a bishop in the Church of God on April 28, 1875, the consecrators being Bishops Benjamin Bosworth Smith, of Kentucky; Alfred Lee of Delaware; Horatio Potter of New York; William Bacon Stevens of Pennsylvania; William Woodruff Niles of New Hampshire; William Hobart Hare of South Dakota, and Dr. W. I. Jackson, bishop of Antigua, West Indies.

The new bishop met his convention for the first time at St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, on May 19, 1875, when he preached on "the vine, the branches, and the fruit". While his pronouncement was thoroughly Evangelical, it was not partisan. During the fourteen years of his active episcopate he proved to be wisely tolerant and went in and out of the diocese with malice toward none and charity toward all. Himself a hard worker, he so won the confidence and affection of both clergy and laity that they accorded him enthusiastic co-operation. In five years the number of organized parishes increased from forty-four to forty-eight; the number of missionary congregations from four to nineteen. Eleven new church buildings were added, and two thousand persons were confirmed. The missionary contributions increased from \$6,000 in 1875 to \$11,691, in 1879.

Unfortunately, his work was interrupted by a nervous breakdown which laid him aside for six months. One of the outstanding events in this period was the establishment of a diocesan hospital for children which was opened in March, 1884. Its purpose was "to extend help to sick children of all classes and creeds". It has developed into one of the most complete units for the care of children and the study of children's diseases in the United States, and is known throughout the

world for its high standard of work due largely to the activities of the Research Foundation made possible by the gifts of one of Southern Ohio's great benefactors, William Cooper Procter. Known as the Children's Hospital of Cincinnati, it is one of the most unique diocesan institutions in the Episcopal Church.

Bishop Jaggard made a gallant effort to carry on his arduous work, but without success. Realizing this was impossible without help he asked for an assistant bishop in 1886. Two years elapsed, during which time the diocese was compelled to depend upon outside bishops for episcopal visitations, and the standing committee acted as the ecclesiastical authority. The parishes loyally carried on. It was during this time that a bishop in an adjacent diocese made the remark: "If I ever had any doubts about the existence of the Church invisible, these doubts have been entirely removed by a visit to the diocese of Southern Ohio".

In 1888 the Reverend Boyd Vincent, the brilliant young rector of Calvary Church, Pittsburgh, was elected coadjutor bishop. Born at Erie, Pennsylvania, on May 18, 1845, he graduated from Yale in 1867, and from the Berkley Divinity School four years later. He was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Kerfoot of Pittsburgh, and after serving two years as assistant at St. Paul's Church, Erie, he was called to the rectorship of Calvary, then the leading parish in Pittsburgh. He was consecrated bishop coadjutor in St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, on January 25th, 1889, by Bishops Spalding, Dudley of Kentucky, Penick, Cortlandt Whitehead of Pittsburgh, and Knickerbacker. On the same day Bishop Jaggard conveyed to the new coadjutor "all the duties and powers", and empowered him "to exercise all the authorities which appertain to the office of the bishop", and declared this document to be "irrevocable".

Bishop Jaggard's health never permitted him to return to his diocese, and after several years of rest abroad he formally resigned his jurisdiction as bishop of Southern Ohio in 1904. Four years later he was appointed to the episcopal charge of the American churches in Europe, and died at Cannes, France, on December 13, 1912. His burial took place from St. Paul's Church, Boston, and at the same hour a service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, Cincinnati, at which there was a large attendance of citizens and churchmen who desired to pay their token of respect to the memory of one who ever walked humbly before God.

The episcopate of Boyd Vincent proved to be a golden age for the Church in Southern Ohio. Under his inspiring leadership the number of parishes and missions increased; the diocesan institutions flourished, the communicant list of the parishes tripled, and Southern

Ohio became one of the largest comparative contributors to the work of the General Church. The spiritual gains will never be fully known till "the books unfold, and the stars grow cold".

In the course of the years he came to occupy a large place not only in the American Church, but also in the Anglican Communion of which he lived to be the senior bishop. It was not merely his administrative gifts, not the unusual length of his episcopate which won for him universal admiration and affection; nor merely his impelling charm. Rather it was his spirit of wisdom; his perfect naturalness; his large charity, and his sympathetic understanding of other Christian men and Churches, all coupled with deep devotion to the Church and its divine Head. In the finest sense of the word he was a "Catholic" bishop whose interest embraced the entire Christian world; a Father in God alike to his clergy and laity; a man to whom nothing human was foreign. In the House of Bishops he was recognized as the outstanding authority on constitution and canons; an ecclesiastical statesman who shunned "the letter that killeth" in favor of "the spirit that giveth life".

In 1910 he was host to the General Convention which met in Cincinnati and which among the older men has become a tradition. Bishop John Wordsworth of Salisbury, England, preached the opening sermon, and a memorable speech by Bishop Charles Henry Brent, of blessed memory, inspired the appointment of a joint commission to arrange for a world conference on Faith and Order. Boyd Vincent became chairman of that commission and to promote its success he gave unsparing service.

He became a notable leader in the cause of Christian reunion. As early as 1890 he made the proposal to recognize as valid existing non-episcopal orders with provision for all subsequent ordinations by bishops. He was one of five members of a committee to visit the Lutheran, Greek Orthodox and Roman Churches with overtures for re-union. Out of that visit came the first World Conference on Faith and Order which met at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1927, and which is again to meet at Edinburgh this year. The dear old bishop cherished the vision of the whole round earth one in unity of spirit. To this end he was eager for this Church to avoid sectarianism and predicted that the time would come when she would be ready to enshrine her "catholic" character in her name.

In 1910 Bishop Vincent suggested the election of a bishop co-adjutor for the diocese. While he was well and strong, the outside claims upon his time and strength were increasing, and, in addition, he thought that the diocese would be the gainer by having two bishops.



Accordingly, early in 1912 Bishop Rowe of Alaska was elected coadjutor bishop, but he felt that Alaska must be his life work and declined the election to the regret of the whole diocese. Later in the year Theodore Irving Reese, rector of Trinity Church, Columbus, was chosen to fill the office. Born in New York city on March 10, 1873, he graduated from Columbia University and the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Massachusetts, being ordained in 1897. He was consecrated in his own parish church on March 25, 1913, by Bishops Boyd Vincent and William A. Leonard of Ohio; William Lawrence of Massachusetts; Joseph M. Francis of Indianapolis; Van Buren of Porto Rico; Charles D. Williams of Michigan, and James De Wolfe Perry, now Presiding Bishop.

In the entire history of this Church no consecration has been carried out under the conditions which prevailed on that stormy day in March. The solemnities of the service were accompanied by the tune of a howling gale heralding the Dayton flood. The Ohio River and its tributaries were on the rampage. In Columbus itself the dam holding the Scioto River broke and the city was flooded, with a consequent loss of not a few lives, and the bishops taking part in the consecration were unable to leave the city for five days. All along the Ohio River, from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, the flood wrought havoc and destruction.

Bishops Vincent and Reese visited the stricken areas as soon as travel was possible, using every possible means of communication—scow; engine-cab; freight caboose; old Fords and farm wagons. They found the clergy, in spite of their own flooded homes and churches, leading in heroic rescue work. In spite of such widespread calamity Bishop Reese reported 444 confirmations, showing how gallantly the diocese came out of the many waters.

Nevertheless, the acute relief problem was of such magnitude that an appeal for outside help was necessary, and a statement of conditions and needs was made to the Church at large. One of the brightest pages in the history of Southern Ohio was the generous response made to the appeal. From all parts of the United States, and from lands beyond the seven seas came gifts of money and supplies which went far to rehabilitate the stricken parishes and people.

That trying experience of the new coadjutor bishop proved to be a prelude to eighteen happy and prosperous years of service in the episcopate. That service embraced not only the diocese, but also the State and the whole American Church.

Governor Cox appointed him to the responsible position of chairman of the State Labor Arbitration Board. His sound judgment and

fairness in dealing with its complex problems won the confidence alike of capital and labor and purged it from "politics". During the World War he was chosen as chairman of the War Commission of the Episcopal Church which had charge of the work of the chaplains both at home and in the war zone. For nine years Bishop Reese was a member of what was then known as the "Presiding Bishop and Council", the precursor of the present National Council. He was a trustee of the Church Pension Fund, and chairman of the National Student Commission. When the election of a Presiding Bishop was pending, the canon limited the choice to a diocesan bishop. But the thoughts of many turned to Bishop Reese. Bishop Vincent proffered his resignation as diocesan to clear the way for Bishop Reese. It was a gallant gesture and it was only the earnest pleading of his coadjutor that made the House of Bishops refuse to accept the resignation.

In 1929 Bishop Vincent resigned his jurisdiction as diocesan for the second time, and it was reluctantly accepted. Though his eye was not dimmed, he felt that the coadjutor deserved the honor. Unfortunately, Bishop Reese began to show indications of failing health, and, on assuming full responsibility of administering the diocese, he asked for a coadjutor bishop. The first choice fell upon the Reverend Doctor Howard Chandler Robbins, of New York, but he was impelled to decline the election. The Reverend Henry Wise Hobson, rector of All Saints' Church, Worcester, Massachusetts, was then elected. Born in Denver, Colorado, in 1871, he graduated from Yale and the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Massachusetts. He served with distinction in the World War, from which he emerged with the rank of major of infantry, and won the Distinguished Service Cross.

He was consecrated in Christ Church, Cincinnati, on May 1, 1930, the consecrators being Bishops Boyd Vincent, William A. Leonard of Ohio; Gravatt of West Virginia; Page of Michigan; Dallas of New Hampshire; Thomas F. Davies of Western Massachusetts; Attwood, late of Arizona, and Paul Jones. Bishop Reese, who was partially disabled, entered the church just in time to take part in the laying on of hands. Following the tradition going back to the days of Philander Chase, the new bishop preached his first sermon in the diocese in St. James' Church, Zanesville, and held his first confirmation in St. Paul's Church, Columbus.

For all too short a time Southern Ohio was blessed with three bishops. But, on October 13, 1931, Theodore Irving Reese died, and was buried with all the honors the Church and State could bestow; followed to the grave with the reverence and love of all who knew him.

The younger bishop entered upon his work under the most favor-

able conditions. The diocese was united and he had the great advantage of the counsel of Bishop Vincent, then eighty-five years old. This fragmentary story of Southern Ohio cannot adequately be told without mention of the unique relationship of Bishop Vincent with his episcopal colleagues—Reese and Hobson. Vincent and Reese were like brothers and never so happy as when on a fishing vacation. They were as David and Jonathan. To Henry Wise Hobson, the older bishop was as a father; wise in counsel and cherishing for the younger man a deep and strong affection which was reciprocated a thousandfold.

When Hobson started his work at the beginning of the depression he found a loyal group of clergy; men like the Reverend Doctor Frank Nelson, rector of Christ Church, Cincinnati, whose leadership is recognized throughout the Church. He also found a group of devoted laymen, like William Cooper Procter, a leader in all diocesan affairs and a member of the National Council, and Charles P. Taft, the chairman of the Everyman's Offering in 1934. These, with others like minded, supported the new bishop in the difficult task of maintaining the work of the diocese and the support of the program of the General Church in the trying years from 1930 to 1936. Today, the diocese is as one in a common purpose to establish the Kingdom of God among men, and in that unity lies the high promise that "the best is yet to be".

Bishop Vincent's last public appearance was at the great opening service of the General Convention of 1934 held at Atlantic City. No one who was present will ever forget the sound of his clarion voice pronouncing the blessing at the close of the service. The Convention was also memorable for the creation of the "Forward Movement" of which Bishop Hobson is the head. It is another of Southern Ohio's contributions to the life of the Church.

Bishop Vincent returned to his Cincinnati home after the Convention. The work of the long day was done, and he was ready to sing his *Nunc dimittis*. He died in his sleep on January 14, 1935, in his ninetieth year; and "in the communion of the Catholic Church, in the confidence of a certain faith, and in perfect charity with the world". Servant of God; Well done!

## THE DIOCESE OF OHIO, 1874-1937

*By Louis E. Daniels*

THE diocese of Ohio was divided in 1874, fifty-six years after its organization. During that period it had had Philander Chase as its bishop for fourteen years, and Charles Pettit McIlvaine for forty-two years. From its feeble and scattered beginnings it had come, during this long half-century, to a condition of considerable strength. In the year of its division the northern half had 84 parishes and missions, 69 clergymen, 6,677 communicants, and the contributions amounted that year to about \$180,000. But when we remember that the newly constituted diocese included forty-eight counties, and an area of over 40,000 square miles, we can see that the Church was really far from strong. Many counties were entirely without the Church; the strength was mainly concentrated in the eastern end of the diocese and in the larger centers of population. Diversities of racial stock had had their effect; the northern strip, which had belonged to the Western Reserve, was readier for our ministrations than was the southern part of the new diocese, which had been settled very largely by Germans from eastern Pennsylvania.

The effective episcopal administration of so large an area, and especially the vigorous missionary work involved, had long proved well-nigh impossible for one man. The subject of the division of the diocese had been discussed from time to time and it had come up in formidable shape in the convention of 1867, but it had failed of enactment because of the opposition of Bishop McIlvaine. He no doubt realized as keenly as anyone the need of the territory for closer supervision but he felt that such division, as it was proposed, would be taken by the whole Church as a criticism, or even a defeat, in the battle that he had been waging as the outstanding leader of the Evangelical party in the American Church. We cannot easily understand the history of this period without a glance at the "Evangelical Religion" of that day and at the controversies in which it was involved.

Says a recent historian, "Evangelical theology rests on a profound apprehension of the contrary states of Nature and of Grace; one meriting eternal wrath, the other intended for eternal happiness. Naked and helpless, the soul acknowledges its worthlessness before God and the



justice of God's infinite displeasure, and then, taking hold of salvation in Christ, passes from darkness into a light which makes more fearful the destiny of those unhappy beings who remain without. This is Vital Religion."<sup>1</sup> A cynical historian of our day has said "Evangelicalism is Christianity taught under the supremacy of the inferiority complex. It substitutes the fear of the devil for the love of God."

This theology carried with it a morality which was rigidly enforced by pulpit and religious press. "Attendance at the theatre, the circus, and public balls and games of chance were frowned upon." Public worship was of the plainest type, and prayer meetings with extempore devotions were common. The most used hymns were subjective in character. "Just as I am" was Bishop McIlvaine's favorite, and it was regularly used by him to close his conventions. The singing and the preaching of that day were strongly emotional, and tears were often very near the surface.

This type of teaching and worship, while generally characteristic of the diocese, had never been altogether acceptable to all. The Connecticut churchmen of the Reserve, for example, were restive under it, and it was from them that proposals for the division of the diocese had first come. Indeed, they petitioned that their northeastern corner might be set off as a new diocese. In other parts of the country, the Oxford Movement had made a deep impression, and a different type of theology and of worship was making rapid strides. Bishop McIlvaine was quick in detecting the sharp issue with Evangelical tenets which was involved in this new emphasis and, with all the energy he had, he set about the work of putting it down and defeating it. In 1839 he delivered a convention charge on the subject, of which two thousand copies were printed and circulated, and in the next year he published a large work entitled "*Oxford Divinity compared with that of the Romish and Anglican Churches*." The book received much attention and it established his position as one of the leaders against Tractarianism, both in this country and in England.

Fearing, as we have said, that the division of his diocese might be taken to mean a division in the ranks of his supporters, he opposed all proposals for such division, and it was tacitly agreed by the diocese that division should not take place during his lifetime. Instead an assistant bishop was decided upon, and in the convention of 1858 Gregory Thurston Bedell was elected.

The son of a distinguished father, he had himself become distinguished by his brilliant work for fourteen years as rector of the Church of the Ascension, Fifth Avenue, New York. That section of the city was then filling up with fine residences. "It was necessarily

<sup>1</sup>G. M. Young. *The Victorian Age*, Ox. Un. Pr. 1936.

only to open the Church doors to see it filled to overflowing with multitudes eager to listen to that wonderful voice, whose very tones brought peace and cheer. . . . Probably no parish in the country was ever more faithfully served, more minutely supervised in every smallest detail, more personally ministered to, than was ours under Bishop Bedell."<sup>2</sup>

The choice was most agreeable to Bishop McIlvaine. To the conventions of 1860 he said:

"If you had consulted my mind, and thought only of my desires, you could not possibly have elected more entirely according to what I wished for myself, and for the best interests of the Diocese." And many years afterward Bishop Bedell told how Bishop McIlvaine had, just before his consecration, led him into a private room "and there threw his arms around me, and pressed me to himself as if he had received a son; and then knelt down and poured out his heart before God for the Diocese and for me."

Bishop and Mrs. Bedell went at once to Gambier and took up their residence there. He was a man of noble countenance and magnetic and charming personality. From his parents, says Dr. Smythe, he "received an inheritance of piety, gentleness, and refinement, and from his father, marked ability as a preacher."<sup>3</sup> Ohio was not altogether unknown to him, since in 1856 he had visited a friend in Cleveland and had travelled with him to Gambier, Columbus, and Cincinnati. Subsequently to this he had led his New York parish to give largely toward the erection of the fine building at Kenyon which was appropriately named "Ascension Hall."

Bishop Bedell threw himself actively into the work of the diocese and he gave himself unreservedly to the policies and ideals of his superior. His father had been a leader among the Evangelicals and he naturally allied himself with the same group, though one might guess that he was a trifle less hearty in his allegiance. Witness the following; in a letter to Bishop McIlvaine he tells that before coming to Ohio he had always been accustomed to bow in the creed, and to teach this observance. But "as soon as I learned that you did not like the habit, I gave it up—swallowing all my old teachings in the matter." It is related of him that he taught his clergy that even when he was sitting in a pew he expected to rise and give the absolution when the point was reached—which might be taken to indicate a "High Church" estimate of the episcopate. However this may be, he worked absolutely

<sup>2</sup>*Historical sermon by Dr. E. Winchester Donald, Nov. 1891.*

<sup>3</sup>*A History of the Diocese of Ohio. George Franklin Smythe, 1931, p. 273.*

in line with the traditions of the diocese as established by Bishop McIlvaine.

The canonical requirement for a clear statement from a bishop in regard to the division of work between himself and an assistant was not then in force. Bishop McIlvaine had a plan for arranging the visitations in such a way that he and Bishop Bedell would make the annual visitation to each parish in the diocese alternately, but the uncertain health of Bishop McIlvaine and his consequent frequent absences from the diocese made the carrying out of the plan impossible. Bishop Bedell often had all of the work to do, and yet he was never able to plan for this. He was a man of resourcefulness, a good administrator, but he was never given a free hand. That this made his course difficult there can be no doubt. On one occasion he wrote to Bishop McIlvaine as follows: "If you will give me your views, I will do the best I can to represent them. Or, if you will give me *carte blanche*, I will go ahead manfully to meet the crisis. . . . But I can act only in one of two ways—as a representative of your views or as endowed with full authority to act according to my own best judgment at the time."<sup>4</sup> Yet there was never any breach or serious difference between the two. In the diocesan journal of 1873 Bishop Bedell wrote: "I do not recall a single occasion on which we found any difference in views, either in diocesan or general policy." And he quoted Bishop McIlvaine as saying to him that as bishops they had worked together, "harmoniously, easily, lovingly, deferently, without jar or jealousy."<sup>5</sup> All this is a strong testimonial to the depth of Bishop Bedell's Christian principles. Not many men of his calibre could have worked so harmoniously under such conditions.

For fourteen years Bishop Bedell worked as a real "assistant". His labours were heavy, his zeal and activity were limitless. Journeys were long and fatiguing, conditions were often disheartening, but he kept on without sparing himself. Inevitably the work told on him. In 1866 he broke down completely and he was sent to Europe for expert medical advice and treatment. He was gone for sixteen months, and he recovered his health and strength with difficulty. In 1867 he returned and took up the burden again, now heavier than ever because of the failing health and increasing absences of his superior.

In 1873 Bishop McIlvaine died in Florence, Italy, and Bishop Bedell automatically became the Bishop of Ohio.

He was then fifty-six years old; not an old man, but his best working days were already behind him. He was, to use Dr. Smythe's words, "already in the grip of a disease that slowly, irresistibly pulled

<sup>4</sup>*Smythe*, p. 359.

<sup>5</sup>*Op. cit.* p. 358.

him down." The first convention of the diocese of Ohio after the division had to meet without its bishop, since he had again been obliged to travel abroad in search of health, and his absence lasted for almost a year. He regained a measure of health and went about his work again, but he was always from that time watched over and cared for by physicians.

Less than two months after the death of Bishop McIlvaine the question of the division of the diocese came up. At the convention meeting in May, 1873, a resolution was presented moving that a committee representative of the different parts of the diocese be appointed to consider the whole subject of division, and to report to the next convention. This was passed by a narrow majority, and accordingly the committee on division reported to the convention of 1874, recommending a division along the line that at present exists. This attempted—and achieved—an equitable division as to strength and resources, though forty-eight of the eighty-eight counties went to the northern division, and the institutions at Gambier were also allotted to this part. Provision was made for the future division of the northern diocese, if it should be desired, by a line following the western borders of Lorain and Ashland counties, and the northern and western borders of Knox County. The resolution for division was passed as presented, notwithstanding an effort of the North-eastern Convocation to obtain consent to form a diocese. This was a last flare of the independent spirit of the Connecticut churchmen of the Western Reserve, a spirit which had again and again irritated and troubled the Evangelical bishops of Ohio.

The northern diocese retained the old name, and Bishop Bedell chose it as the part over which he would remain bishop. He continued to live in the beautiful house which he had built in Gambier, with occasional periods spent in Cleveland.

Bishop Bedell had long before come to realize that one of the greatest problems of the diocese was the slowness with which the money came in. The missionary treasury, and the diocesan treasury as well, were always empty. New work was impossible because of lack of funds, and it was not until he had been bishop for seven years that he began to receive his salary promptly. Again and again he said in convention "We are making very few advances", or "We have made no progress", or "Not one new parish or missionary station has been formed this year". The diocesan journals show no new parish or mission station formed in the diocese between 1881 and 1887, "not", said the bishop, "because opportunities do not offer, but because we do not dare incur the necessary pecuniary obligations." The bishop felt that



the people were sluggish and indifferent in giving, and no doubt he was right. Said one of his treasurers, in 1880, it is "as if Christ had said 'Put your burden on your neighbor if you can'." During that year only three parishes had paid their assessments on time, and they were very small ones.

The bishop's constant writing and speaking about this matter seemed to give things a start for the better toward the end of his work. He succeeded in bringing some life into the movement for an episcopal endowment fund (it amounted to just seventy-three dollars at the division of the diocese—and the whole of that sum had been given by St. John's Church, Cleveland) and he inaugurated the plan of securing the support of a general missionary from the Sunday schools. He engaged in raising money for Kenyon College in certain times of stress and he secured the funds for building the Church of the Holy Spirit, which has for so many years been a conspicuous ornament to the Kenyon campus.

He and Mrs. Bedell took the greatest interest in the planning and decorating of this building, and the Victorian taste of their day still shines out in it. A feature of this taste was the blazoning of suitable scripture texts upon the walls. The fruits of the Spirit were listed in due order above the doors and windows, and generations of students have derived amusement from the fact that "Long Suffering" appears in big letters above the entrance door, and that the word "Temperance" comes—some would think not quite appropriately—over the seats of the seniors. The story goes in Gambier that the good bishop was resolved that the entire fabric of the church should be of Ohio production. One might conclude, on looking about, that no stained glass had up to that time been produced in Ohio and that the first attempts at it were made, at the urgency of the bishop, for this church. It used to be related that when he was proudly showing the new church to a farmer-parishioner that amazed gentleman cried out, on reaching the apse, and seeing the St. John window there, "Wal I declare to goodness if you h'aint got old Prof. Smith and his Pollparrot there!" Anyone looking at the eagle in the window will understand.

A second difficulty that tried and hampered Bishop Bedell was the recurrence of the ceremonial and theological controversies which had been such a conspicuous feature of Bishop McIlvaine's episcopate. Things ecclesiastical were changing rapidly all over the country through the progress of the Oxford Movement, and Ohio, in attempting to resist these changes, was bound to encounter controversy and trouble. Bishop Bedell at the beginning of his independent rule, had set forth the principles upon which he intended to act in deciding questions of cere-

monial that might come before him. For a considerable period no serious question came up. He requested three Cleveland rectors to give up wearing white and colored stoles, but he did not proceed further when his requests proved ineffectual. He remonstrated with the rector of Trinity, Cleveland, because "an immovable structure had been placed in the Church in place of the Lord's Table", and he held that "flowers, crosses, flower pots, super-altar, are all and equally excluded" from the Holy Table when the Lord's Supper is administered. He also objected to some "garment" which the rector wore, and he called attention to the rubric that tells "where the officiator shall stand." But he let all these matters pass with a remonstrance, and he grew more liberal as time went on. He made no trouble about vested choirs, as Bishop McIlvaine had done, and as new customs became general he acquiesced in them, and even sometimes followed them.

But in the case of St. John's, Toledo, where a rood-screen, a side altar, six candles, and other innovations had been introduced, he felt that such practices were "contrary to the laws of our Church, and opposed to its protestant principles." He inspected the church on a Saturday and refused to hold the appointed confirmation service there on the next day. He reported the matter to the next convention, which passed mild resolutions of condemnation and appointed a committee of three prominent laymen to confer with the rector and vestry of St. John's. This brought about an amicable settlement of the difficulty in which both sides made concessions, and no further attention was paid to it.

Bishop Bedell was a man of ideas—a dreamer of dreams—though because of hampering circumstances he was never able to bring them to realization. Early in his work, as he saw numerous opportunities for planting the church in new sections, he hit upon the notion of "itineracies", somewhat after the Methodist pattern. He set up four or five such organized groups, one of which, embracing fifteen or twenty stations, lasted for five years. The others were short-lived. The idea was a good one, but it failed for lack of financial support.

He also envisioned what he called a "Missionary Cathedral System", which would provide a central position for the bishop, there surrounded by "his promoters and supporters", a central house for the working missionary clergy, a home for the bishop, and a house of God where he might gather the people for worship, as well as a "House of Hospitality" for the poor and afflicted. A radiant dream it was—almost a vision of what has since come to pass; and his urging of it may, in some degree, have opened the way for the achievements of his successor along these very lines.

Another of the bishop's radiant dreams was an extraordinary plan for the division of the diocese. It proposed a small diocese, including Columbus and Gambier, in the middle of the state, and surrounding it four larger dioceses, to be set off by somewhat irregular lines running north, east, south, and west from the center—four approximately equal quarters all touching the small diocese in the midst of them. Each of these would have its own bishop while he would retain the central section, presiding over and guiding the other four, in certain ways, from there.<sup>6</sup> One sees here a complete provincial system in miniature, with the bishop of Ohio as archbishop! No doubt the dear bishop would have shrunk in horror from this last word, as he shrank from the words "cathedral" and "archdeacon" but he was beyond question feeling for the realities behind these words in all his dreaming.

This plan, in full detail, was presented to the convention that was charged with the division of the diocese. It was, of course, absurdly impossible for that time, and it received short shrift from the committee on division. But one discerns some shreds of it in the present joint responsibility for the institutions at Gambier and the joint administration of certain funds.

Bishop Bedell worked along courageously but his gradually failing health and his enforced absences for treatment and recuperation made him feel that an assistant was needed. In 1885, he said: "I do not ask for an Assistant Bishop, but at whatever time, now or in the future, you shall deem it for the best interests of the Diocese to elect an Assistant, I shall cheerfully welcome him." The convention courteously declined to act in the matter.

In 1886-87 the bishop rallied sufficiently to do a good deal of work; he visited the entire diocese and confirmed seven hundred and forty-three persons. But his recovery was of short duration. In January 1888 he asked for an assistant bishop, and it was seen that this assistant would have all the work to do.

A special convention was called for March 1888 and the bishop's friends put in nomination Dr. William S. Langford, prominent as secretary of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, since it was understood that this gentleman was of the "Low-Broad" type desired by the bishop and those nearest to him. But, says Smythe, it soon became evident that none but a conservative High Churchman could be elected—so greatly had opinions changed in this old Evangelical stronghold. Dr. William F. Nichols of Hartford, later bishop of California, was put in nomination. An unfortunate contest ensued, with many unpleasant features. It resulted in a failure to secure a bishop, either by this or by two succeeding conventions. Three excellent men

<sup>6</sup>*Smythe, pp. 346, 347.*

were elected but each in turn declined, influenced, no doubt, by the unpleasant conditions that had developed in the conventions. But at the regular convention of 1889, assembled at Trinity Church, Toledo, a better state of mind prevailed. The bishop, absent in Switzerland, sent a loving and prayerful telegram. Two names were put in nomination and, on the first ballot, Dr. William A. Leonard, rector of St. John's Church, Washington, D. C., was elected, and by a large majority.

Dr. Leonard accepted the election and was consecrated in St. Thomas' Church, New York, on October twelfth, 1889, during the meeting of the General Convention. His first act was to go to the bedside of Bishop Bedell, who lay a helpless invalid in a New York apartment, and to administer the Holy Communion to him. Four days after the consecration Bishop Bedell resigned, leaving Bishop Leonard to enter Ohio as diocesan.

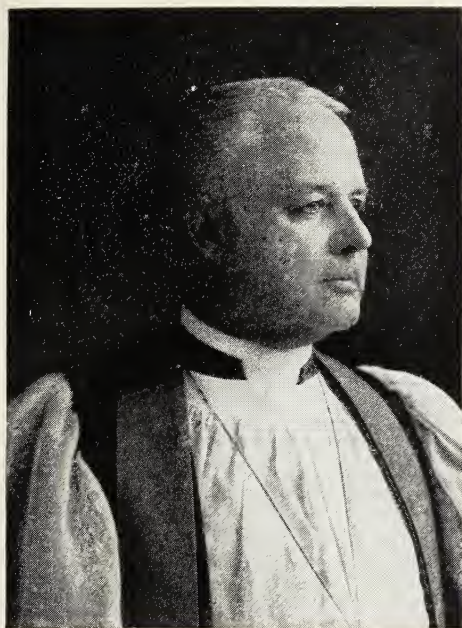
Bishop Bedell lingered on until March 1892, and Mrs. Bedell did not long survive him. They were buried in the college cemetery at Gambier, where their three children, who died in infancy, had been laid to rest.

Bishop Bedell was a man of transparent sincerity and of absolute devotion to duty. He had large natural ability, as was shown abundantly in his earlier work. He possessed ample means and he gave liberally to all good efforts. He and Mrs. Bedell left generous sums to Kenyon, to Bexley, and to the diocese. Their beautiful home with all its furnishings was given to the college. Says Dr. Smythe: "In the succession of the bishops of Ohio there can never be a man more devout or more devoted than Bishop Bedell."

#### BISHOP LEONARD

Bishop Leonard was forty-one years old at the time of his election. He came of distinguished New England ancestry on both sides. His forbears were early settlers in Massachusetts and Connecticut and they had been people of weight in colonial affairs. The Leonards of his generation had pushed out towards the West, as so many were doing. His grandfather, Stephen B. Leonard, was a pioneer in Owego, New York; became a member of Congress from that district, and established a village newspaper which still exists. The bishop's father, William Boardman Leonard, spent most of his life in Brooklyn, where he gained prominence as a merchant and banker. Bishop Leonard himself was born in Southport, Connecticut, on the fifteenth of July, 1848. His education was at Phillips Academy, Andover and St. Stephen's College, Annandale, and in 1871 he graduated from the Berkeley Divinity School. At this seminary he was the classmate and intimate

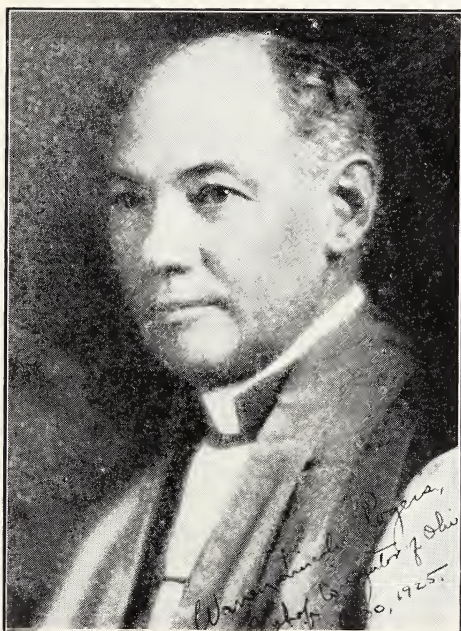




WILLIAM ANDREW LEONARD

*July 15, 1848 - September  
21, 1930*

*Fourth Bishop of Ohio:  
1889 - 1930*



WARREN LINCOLN ROGERS

*November 14, 1877 - ———*

*Bishop Coadjutor of Ohio:  
1925 - 1930*

*Fifth Bishop of Ohio: 1930 - ———*



friend of Boyd Vincent; and it was a happy circumstance that they should afterwards be long associated as the two Bishops in the State of Ohio.

William A. Leonard was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop John Williams, who had been his beloved preceptor in seminary, and who remained his ideal throughout his life. His diaconate was passed under the famous Dr. John Hall in Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, the home parish of his family. He was rector of the Church of the Redeemer in that city from 1872 to 1881, where he did a notable work, attracting many people by his youthful vigor and charm. On April seventeenth, 1873, he married Sarah L. Sullivan, of Brooklyn; an ideal marriage for both of them. During the forty-three years of their married life she was his beloved companion and tireless helper. He consulted her in all important matters. Her tact and charm were of the greatest assistance to him in all the social duties that are inseparable from the office of bishop.

In 1881 he became rector of St. John's Parish, Washington, D. C., and he held that position until his consecration as bishop. In that church he had as parishioners a large number of the foremost civil, military and naval officials of the United States, and with many of them, as well as with many parishioners not so distinguished, he formed close and lifelong friendships. He was immensely popular at St. John's—people were turned away at every morning service during the winter season—and his fame spread to every part of the country. It was said of him there that he had a wider constituency than any diocese could give him. During his eight years there he was twice elected to the episcopate, but in both cases he declined. The election to Ohio, however, was one that he could not decline, loath as he was to leave Washington. He felt that an election by a large majority on the first ballot was a divine call, and he accepted without delay. His parishioners in Washington were very unwilling to part with him, and with many of them the social link was severed only by death. One devoted woman sent him, up to the end of her life, one hundred dollars each month, to be used at his discretion—and she lived nearly as long as he did.

Bishop Leonard went promptly to Ohio and set up his residence at a hotel in Cleveland. Before very long he built for himself a charming house in the fine residential section of Euclid Avenue. Trinity Parish invited him to accept their church as his cathedral, and he gladly accepted. They were just then preparing to leave their old church, on lower Superior Street, near the square, and to build in the residential section of the Avenue.

With the coming of Bishop Leonard a new era dawned in the diocese. His boyish aspect, together with his personal magnetism and charm, captivated every one, and the whole diocese was ready to follow his lead with joy and enthusiasm. One of the bishop's first acts was the summoning of the clergy of the diocese, and of as many laymen as could attend, to St. Paul's Church, for prayers with them, and for a general address to the diocese. He took for his text the words from the Epistle for the week, "We are members one of another," and he said, "I have come to be your associate and fellow laborer in the Gospel and Church of our adorable Master." He emphasized the fact that they were all linked together in one fellowship and that they must go forward together in the great enterprise which was set before them. On looking back one can see that he struck the keynote of his whole episcopate in these words; cooperation, mutual confidence and affection, characterized the life together of Bishop Leonard and his people.<sup>7</sup>

The new bishop plunged into the work with enthusiasm and vigor. Although automobiles, trolley cars and busses did not exist, he was able to state to his convention, after six months of work, that he had visited practically the whole diocese. His courage and optimism were unflinching, but he found that there was a great deal to be done. Many large towns and county seats were without the Episcopal Church, and the eastern part of Cleveland, a rapidly growing section, was unprovided with parishes and missions. Missionary funds amounted to very little, and there was a tremendous need for clergy. Bexley Hall, the natural feeder of the diocese, was practically closed; it had one professor and one student, both of them living and working in Kenyon College. He scouted everywhere for candidates for the ministry, and Bexley Hall began to fill up. He recruited the faculty with able men and things were soon moving there. The students were sent out as lay readers to work in the missions of the diocese. Languishing stations were linked up to strong parishes, and so received regular services. He was skillful in finding able laymen and putting them to work. The financial affairs of the whole diocese received new care and new stimulus. Presently an active archdeacon was appointed. The Church began to keep pace with the rapid industrial and civic development of Ohio.

One reason for this was the obvious breadth and fairmindedness of the bishop. The old party contentions and shibboleths sank out of sight. We have said that Bishop Leonard was a conservative High Churchman, but he was not in any sense a party man. Any clergy-

<sup>7</sup>*William Andrew Leonard, A beloved Prelate of the Old School*, by Louis E. Daniels, M. A., p. 53.



man who was busily at work was treated with confidence, no matter what his tendencies in ceremonial matters might be. Parishes that formerly considered themselves "persecuted" now found in the bishop's visitation the coming of a welcome friend. He even made graceful concessions to their ceremonial customs in his conduct of services within their building. Only ten years before his coming three clergyman of Cleveland had been reprimanded for wearing colored stoles; Bishop Leonard wore them himself, and paid no attention to the kind any other man wore. He brought with him to Ohio his own white linen chasuble and wore it at minor celebrations in his cathedral. It is still used in the chapel there. "Ceremonial?", he would say. "Yes, plenty of it—but Anglican not Roman." He made a subtle distinction which some of his clergy, perhaps under the influence of the Anglican Society, are just beginning to understand. In this his Connecticut Churchmanship stood out. These men stood, from the days of Bishop Berkeley, for Anglican traditions, avoiding post-Tridentine Roman innovations. Bishop Leonard strongly deprecated the formation of partisan societies or associations within the diocese, and his wishes were generally respected. Elections and legislation in the convention were remarkably free from traces of party bias. All this was a great change from the heated controversy of earlier years and the diocese was happy in an era of willing cooperation and confidence. Even Bexley Hall lost its old atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, and turned out with satisfaction churchmen of every varying kind. Of course the ecclesiastical complexion of the diocese changed under this liberal treatment; such a change was taking place throughout the whole American Church. The Oxford Movement, which Bishop McIlvaine had so strongly opposed, was winning its victory. Says Dr. Smythe: "All those doctrines and practices that seemed to him so erroneous and strange have now gained a right to live, and even to flourish, in Ohio, and that particular form of doctrine which he and the great majority of his clergy thought to be the very and only saving faith, is now held, if at all, only by a few aged people, here and there. In almost every Episcopal Church in Ohio there are teachings and practices that he would have viewed with horror, and would have restrained by every resource of discipline."<sup>8</sup> The old "Evangelical Religion" was gone. Those who are today applying those words to themselves use them with very different connotations.

"A great work that faced the young bishop on his arrival was the building of a cathedral. Trinity Parish, Cleveland, had bought the piece of land on which Trinity Cathedral stands and had selected an architect, Charles F. Schweinfurth, but all the rest of the work re-

<sup>8</sup>*Smythe, p. 344.*

mained to be done under the leadership of the new bishop. The architect had selected the Romanesque style for his building, and the parish house, in that style, was completed in 1895. But Bishop Leonard strongly desired a Gothic building as being much more expressive of the history and traditions of the Anglican Church. His ideas prevailed, and the cathedral itself was reared in the Gothic style of the early Perpendicular period. The bishop was vitally concerned about every detail and his loving interest has left its mark on the structure in numberless ways. Throughout the long period that the cathedral was building daily prayers were said for the work and for the safety of those engaged in it. Bishop Leonard loved to remark that not one of the workmen suffered any harm. On the completion of the work he gave them a dinner, and they were represented in the stately procession at the consecration. The whole undertaking was largely pioneer work; the diocese of Albany was the only one in America that had begun a cathedral of English type.”<sup>9</sup>

The cathedral stands as a monument to Bishop Leonard. Though not of great proportions it ranks high in the list of truly beautiful churches in America. In it is realized the dream of Bishop Bedell, and in a more splendid way than he could have envisioned. Bishop Leonard wrote: “The reason for cathedrals in our country is purely missionary—ours is a missionary church with one actuating thought, viz., the extension of the Kingdom of Christ. The chief missionary under our system is the Bishop of the Diocese . . . He works from a center and that center is the Cathedral Altar.” Again: “Into our noble edifice have been put the gifts, the prayers and the desires of a goodly multitude. The rich and the poor, children and adults, have sent their offerings, so that the building stands, first for our Heavenly Father and then for His dear people. . . . It stands in the midst of our great city, the representative of an Apostolic religion.” He strove in every way to make the cathedral useful, and to make it the center of diocesan life. Splendid gifts provided the cathedral with all needful belongings, and the Bishop was keen about the quality and the symbolism of every article.

The cathedral was consecrated, with splendid ceremonies on Tuesday, September fourteenth, 1907. “It was a great day in Bishop Leonard’s life. Sixteen bishops were in the procession, the officers and dignitaries of the diocese were there, and the clergy had assembled almost to a man. In front of Bishop Leonard was carried his splendid pastoral staff, the gift of the clergy and laity of the diocese, which had been presented to him in the parish hall just before the procession

<sup>9</sup>*William Andrew Leonard, p. 71.*

started. . . . Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, the venerable Presiding Bishop, was the preacher. . . . Midway in the consecration service, Bishop Leonard was formally enthroned by the dean and archdeacon, and the clergy passing before him paid homage to him in significant action. It was symbolic in a striking way of the fact that in the eighteen years that had elapsed since his coming to Ohio, Bishop Leonard had enthroned himself in the hearts of his clergy and people, that he had, without conscious effort, placed himself in a position of command in the ecclesiastical and spiritual life of his flock, and that he had arrived at a point where all gladly did him reverence."<sup>10</sup>

Henceforth the annual conventions were regularly held in the cathedral, the various diocesan organizations found a gathering place there, and from time to time quiet days for the clergy were provided. On one occasion, when a parish pilgrimage to the cathedral had been arranged by a rural congregation, Bishop Leonard himself acted as guide in showing the group about the place, gave them choice seats for evensong, and provided a supper for them, at which he made a charming little address. It was obviously his wish that the cathedral should be the center of church life for the whole diocese.

An important part of Bishop Leonard's inheritance was the diocesan educational institutions—Kenyon College and Bexley Hall. Their fortunes were at a low ebb when he came to the diocese and he busied himself with their welfare from the very first. He advertised the institutions amongst his friends and secured many students for both. As time went on he interested many of his Cleveland friends in the college and brought about their membership on the board of trustees. Their interest grew and large gifts followed. Dr. William F. Peirce, who had been made president soon after Bishop Leonard's coming, was a young man of vigor, vision, and practical sense. He and Bishop Leonard became warm and intimate friends and in all his work at Kenyon he found in the bishop a loyal supporter. Their companionship became a source of joy to both. The two men seemed to belong alike to the college and they stand together in the affection of a large band of alumni. Dr. Peirce has been the rebuilder of Kenyon College, reconstructing the old building, and adding several new ones. Among these last Leonard Hall was the gift of Samuel Mather, of Cleveland, in honor of Bishop Leonard, and the Samuel Mather Science Hall was given in Mr. Mather's honor by Mr. H. G. Dalton of Cleveland. We might also count Hanna Hall, the gift of Senator Marcus A. Hanna, as a result of Bishop Leonard's pervasive influence.

Bishop and Mrs. Leonard soon set up a country home in the

<sup>10</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 74.

lovely old residence of Bishop Bedell, Kokosing. The simple, social life of the college community was pleasant to them, and they entered into it with enthusiasm. They were fond of entertaining their guests there rather than in Cleveland, and many people from afar came to know Kenyon College through the hospitality of the bishop and Mrs. Leonard. In Bexley Hall he took the warmest interest. Each autumn, and again each spring, he gave a course of lectures and was thus a large formative influence in the lives of the Bexley men of his day. In teaching them Pastoral Theology he used the notes that he himself had taken as a student from the lips of Bishop John Williams. He made it a point to become intimately acquainted with each one of his candidates. He required that all of his candidates should do their seminary work at Bexley, where he could know them and teach them. If a candidate insisted on going to some other school, he would transfer him to some other diocese, but he would make no exception to his rule. That his policy was justified is to be seen in the fact that twenty years later one-third of all the clergy of our Church in the state were Bexley men, and more than one-half of those in the diocese of Ohio were Bexley men. Bishop Leonard used to say that the merits of Bexley-trained men were evident from the fact that neighboring bishops were constantly picking them away from him.

In the early days of the college the bishop had had almost unlimited power there, and a great deal of friction and unhappiness developed. Dr. Peirce sought constitutional amendments that would give the president and trustees more independence and Bishop Leonard furthered him in the endeavor. He willingly relinquished powers that had always belonged to the bishop of Ohio, but he never relinquished his interest.

We have said that Bishop Leonard's period was free from the old controversies which had so disturbed the diocese in former years, but on two occasions disturbances arose which caused the bishop deep distress. Both were of a theological character. In 1890 the Rev. Howard MacQueary, rector of St. Paul's Church, Canton, published a book in which he denied the doctrines of the resurrection and the virgin birth. Bishop Leonard begged the man to take a holiday (at his expense) during which he would reconsider the whole matter. He declined. Then he was urged to stop preaching and printing on the subject for a time, but this too he refused to do. He seemed to court ecclesiastical trial. In due course the standing committee presented him on the ground that he had broken his ordination vow. He was tried in January 1892 and was convicted by a majority vote. The bishop suspended him, he renounced the ministry, and thereupon he was deposed.



The whole episode was very painful to Bishop Leonard but his action seemed unavoidable and he had the warm support of his diocese in his course.

The other trying episode was the defection of the Rt. Rev. William M. Brown, sometime Bishop of Arkansas. In the earlier years of Bishop Leonard's episcopate Mr. Brown, as archdeacon of Ohio, had done unusually effective missionary work, and had won the respect and affection of his associates. In the later years of his administration as bishop of Arkansas he renounced the faith once delivered to the saints, and was deposed from the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God.

Bishop Leonard was a great believer in Sunday schools and he was always emphasizing their importance. He used to say that a parish without a good Sunday school was on the road to extinction. He always sought to catechize the children of a parish at the time of his visitation, and he was so skillful at it that the children loved him. He was influential in setting up a diocesan Sunday school commission, which for many years did effective work in inspiration and extension.

In missionary work Bishop Leonard was always ardent. He early inaugurated the custom of an Advent offering from the children, for the support of the missions of the diocese. A recipient was selected beforehand and much good teaching was done in this way about the missions of the diocese. He was a favorite speaker at the meetings of the Woman's Auxiliary, and he was always urging the cause of missions in his convention addresses. The newer developments of church activity in social service, city missions, work among the deaf and dumb, etc., received his warm encouragement and support. The church was moving on all through the land, and he was ready to welcome and use all the new developments. The "Laymen's Forward Movement," and the resulting Every Member Campaign and Parish Canvass, were all accepted by him. When the time came for the reorganization of the diocese, grouping all its activities in the "departments" of the bishop and council he was ready to accept it, though at first with some misgivings. Though he was quite frankly a conservative, the younger spirits of the diocese found in him no obstacle to progress.

And how remarkable that progress has been! When the bishop came Cleveland had 261,000 inhabitants; at his death, forty years later, its population was close to a million. At the beginning of his period the city had fourteen parishes and one mission, forty years later it had twenty-four. Then there were 3,000 communicants in the city, forty years later, there were close to 10,000. The comparative figures for the diocese are similarly striking. There were then ninety-five parishes

and missions in the diocese, and forty years later there were one hundred and thirty-six. Then there were about 9,000 communicants, at the end of the period there were 31,000. A part of the credit for this advance must be given to Bishop DuMoulin, who was elected coadjutor in 1914. He served busily and effectively for ten years. The recasting of the old "convocations" into the present-day "regions" was his work, and it was one of the changes in the direction of effectiveness. It was a matter of regret that, ten years later, Bishop DuMoulin felt obliged to resign his office because of imperiled health.

"But other, and perhaps more striking, changes had taken place. Old and inadequate buildings were enlarged or replaced. Furnishings and appointments of worship changed little by little to a more churchly and expressive type, and through it all controversy and partisanship were avoided. . . . He was ever insistent upon the essential, underlying oneness of all the members of the Church, whatever their theological and ecclesiastical leanings might be. He was fair to all, kindly and considerate to all, but he never took sides. Thus it came about that while there was a steady and general advance in the churchmanship of the diocese, it was quiet and almost unnoticed; it came as the natural outward expression of a growing corporate sense and of a deepening realization of the presence of our Lord in his Church. People coming back to the diocese after many years of absence were amazed at the changes in the style of the services and in the appearance of the churches, but the people who were living here scarcely realized that anything had happened."<sup>11</sup>

Bishop Leonard was essentially a religious man; his simple piety was his most outstanding characteristic. This was seen at its best in the family prayers that he always conducted in his home. The domestics came in, and he began by reading a goodly portion of Scripture, commenting simply as he went; then followed prayers, sometimes from devotional books, often extempore. And he was a master of extempore prayer. A characteristic scarcely second to his piety was his genuine humility. When, on anniversary occasions, he was praised for his achievements, he always said that credit belonged to his devoted helpers, to the people of the diocese who had supported him so splendidly. And he meant it.

Along with piety and humility went a sturdiness of principle which governed his mental life and his actions. No one who knew him at all could be ignorant of what it was. Religion and the Church always came first with him and he never for a moment could make them subservient to the easy-going ways of the world or to the de-

<sup>11</sup>*Op. cit.* p. 60, 61.

mands of fashionable society. He was plain-spoken, he could reprove sharply when occasion demanded, but he was always kindly, and he never cherished resentment. Transparent sincerity was another outstanding characteristic. When he spoke people knew exactly what he meant, and they learned to know that he would not swerve from it, in any presence or under any circumstances.

Bishop Leonard was a convinced churchman; he believed that the Church which he represented was descended by tangible line from our Lord and his Apostles. He believed that it held to the faith and the practices of the Apostolic Church; he believed that separation from it was a mistake and was contrary to God's plan and will. But, with all this, his breadth of view made him perfectly cognizant of the position of those who differed from him, and his gentleness and fairness made him kindly and considerate of them. The prominent men of the various denominations were all his warm friends, and many times they were his intimates.

Bishop Leonard was a remarkable man and a remarkable bishop. His extraordinary blending of conservatism and breadth, of firmness and gentleness, of enthusiasm and balanced judgment, is rarely met with. He left a deep impress upon the diocese—indeed the diocese became in a certain real way an expression of his own character and traits. He left us a diocese which is a home of piety, deep conviction, gentleness, and peace.

#### BISHOP ROGERS.

It would of course be out of place to try to treat the present episcopate historically—we are in it, we are of it, we can get no perspective. But we can record a few dates and facts.

The resignation of Bishop Du Moulin made the immediate securing of a coadjutor necessary, since Bishop Leonard was seventy-six and naturally not able to endure much heavy work. A special convention was called for January seventh, 1925, and it elected the Reverend Warren Lincoln Rogers, dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Detroit. He was consecrated in that cathedral on April thirtieth, 1925, Bishop Leonard acting as consecrator. "Bishop Leonard had not known him, but before his acceptance of the election, Dean Rogers came to Cleveland to visit Bishop Leonard and he at once gained his confidence and affection by his sincere and forceful personality, and by the assurance which he gave that, if he accepted the election, he would do his best to conform himself to Bishop Leonard's ideals, and to the traditions of the diocese."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup>*Daniels.. "William Andrew Leonard", p. 108.*

Bishop Rogers took up his residence in Cleveland and threw himself into the work with extraordinary zeal and fervor. Most of the work of the diocese was his to do, since Bishop Leonard retained as his section only the city of Cleveland and the two parishes in Knox County. From time to time he called for the help of his coadjutor in the Cleveland parishes. He never interfered with him in any way, though they were in frequent consultation. Bishop Rogers was so faithful and successful in keeping his pledge as to continuity of policy, that Bishop Leonard came to feel that he was more like a son than a brother official. A relation of the closest confidence and affection grew up between them and so far as anyone knows there was never even a ripple of difference to mar the serenity of their friendship. He was a great support and comfort to Bishop Leonard during his declining days, and he ministered to him at the last.

Since he succeeded to sole charge in 1930 he has worked on along the same lines with astonishing vigor. The load has grown in weight but he has handled it with unfailing courage and resolution.

With the financial crash of 1931 and the ensuing depression, his problems increased. Ohio's chief industry, steel, was harder hit than almost any other in the nation. The invested funds of the diocese, now grown very large, ceased paying interest; great banks failed; the wealthy men of the communities, who had previously stopped many gaps, were crippled; and the parishes, drained of resources like the diocese, reduced their payments alarmingly. The bishop at once took heroic measures; all diocesan salaries, including his own, were mercilessly cut; assisted parishes were likewise trimmed to the quick; and notice was given to the National Council that payments on quotas would be made only to the extent that the funds came in. Ohio fell from near the top of the list of missionary givers to a place far down. From payments to the General Church of about \$80,000 per year she fell to about \$17,000. All hearts were saddened by this, but the comforting, the gladdening point about it all was that the diocese came through the depression without debt—she managed to live within her means. Some of the clergy were reduced almost to destitution, but the bishop was able to help them privately by means of certain discretionary funds which had fortunately continued to pay dividends in full. With the beginning of recovery things have begun to come back toward normal conditions in diocesan affairs, and the diocese is hopeful of resuming its old place ere long.

Bishop Rogers is conspicuously an administrator. Soon after Bishop Leonard's death he set up an enlarged and better equipped office in the diocesan house, and he has gathered a very competent



office force. He makes large use of his archdeacon, and of his efficient field secretary, and all interests are kept well in hand. He utilizes the students at Bexley Hall for supply and mission work and since this work is overlooked and assisted both by the Bexley faculty and by the archdeacon the plan is beneficial to the men and to the diocese as well.

The demands of efficiency have made it seem wise to close a number of the small missions which earlier bishops had planted and nursed along year after year. Many Ohio communities have refused to grow—some have dwindled. It is exceedingly difficult to build up a mission which can have only afternoon or evening services; it is hard, in the face of competition, to build up where the equipment is poor. People prefer to go to church where there is a choir, a guild, an efficient Sunday school, and in these days of the automobile it is not difficult to reach such a church from most of our small communities. Bishop Rogers has favored the policy of bringing the church folk of the small missions into connection with neighboring larger parishes for at least a part of their parish life. And the policy works well.

Bishop Rogers has stood strongly for a teaching church, as did Bishop Leonard. He has inaugurated an annual course of lectures at the cathedral house, known as the Epiphany lectures. Two or three times he has given them himself, and in other years he has called to his help able clergy and laymen of the diocese. He has seen the value of the Gambier summer school and he has often given a course of lectures there to his clergy, which they have found scholarly and helpful. He also extends the charming hospitality of Kokosing to the whole school on one of the afternoons of the session, and all are made to feel his interest and enthusiasm.

As the years have passed Bishop Rogers has grown more and more appreciative of Bexley Hall—of the merit of the training given there, and of its helpfulness to the diocese. He always attends the canonical examinations and he makes his interest very evident. A majority of the students are his candidates, though there is always a good representation of dioceses outside the state of Ohio. He is ardent for good candidates for the ministry, and is always on the watch for them.

Bishop Rogers is a preacher of eloquence and power. He is in great demand for anniversary and occasional sermons in all parts of the land and he is especially popular as a Lenten preacher in the great eastern cities. Almost every Lent five days of each week are filled with engagements for noon-day sermons in great parishes of the East. In summer, of late years, he has given Sunday morning sermons through five or six weeks in St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, following

them with afternoon conferences in the parish house, for students and other young people. His closest friends, fearing overwork, have very much wished that these extra-diocesan activities might somehow be omitted.

Bishop Rogers is particularly the friend of his clergy. He is sympathetic with them in trouble, he hastens to their aid when help is needed. His kindliness and sincere interest have won the hearts of all of them, whatever their ecclesiastical complexion.

And, indeed, the same is to be said of the diocese as a whole; all his people have learned to love and trust him, and he is surrounded in his work by willing hearts and hands.

# THE CINCINNATI GENERAL CONVENTIONS OF 1850 AND 1910

*By E. Clowes Chorley*

THE General Convention has twice met in Ohio, each time in the City of Cincinnati. In 1850 the diocese embraced the entire State; by 1910 the diocese of Southern Ohio had been created and was host to the convention of that year.

The years which have elapsed since the convention of 1850 have witnessed a remarkable growth in the strength of the Church. In 1850 there were 29 dioceses, Wisconsin and Texas being the latest additions to the number; 1,558 clergy and 79,802 communicants. They were distributed as follows:

Diocese.	Clergy.	Communicants.
Maine . . . . .	13	690
New Hampshire . . . . .	9	552
Vermont . . . . .	23	1,722
Massachusetts . . . . .	80	5,142
Rhode Island . . . . .	26	2,400
Connecticut . . . . .	106	9,360
New York . . . . .	264	<sup>1</sup>
Western New York . . . . .	118	7,102
New Jersey . . . . .	61	3,054
Pennsylvania . . . . .	155	11,750
Delaware . . . . .	16	537
Maryland . . . . .	124	7,473
Virginia . . . . .	109	5,347
N. Carolina . . . . .	38	2,137
S. Carolina . . . . .	69	4,916
Georgia . . . . .	27	950 <sup>2</sup>
Florida . . . . .	8	264
Alabama . . . . .	23	823
Mississippi . . . . .	18	500
Louisiana . . . . .	25	941
Tennessee . . . . .	19	655
Kentucky . . . . .	28	1,005
Ohio . . . . .	72	5,000

<sup>1</sup>Owing to the suspension of the bishop the number of communicants in the diocese of New York was not reported.

<sup>2</sup>Approximate.

Indiana . . . . .	17	760
Illinois . . . . .	30	1,500
Michigan . . . . .	34	1,545
Missouri . . . . .	14	659
Wisconsin . . . . .	23	1,356
Texas . . . . .	8	264

There were 29 dioceses; two domestic and two foreign missionary districts. It will be noted that eleven dioceses had less than one thousand communicants.

The reports on the state of the Church in 1850 are interesting. New Hampshire reported that "it is blessed with perfect unity and a faithful regard to the doctrines and discipline of the Church"<sup>3</sup> Vermont "exhibits encouraging signs of growth".<sup>4</sup> Massachusetts, "small in territory, and surrounded by a cold religious atmosphere", was "consistently gaining in the confidence and reverence of the community at large . . . every year bears witness to our enlargement and confirms our strength".<sup>5</sup> Under what it called "the favor of an indulgent Providence" Connecticut "continued to enjoy its wonted prosperity and peace".<sup>6</sup> The report from New York was in a minor key: "The Church in this diocese continues in the same anomalous and suffering condition . . . deprived of parental care, essential services, and watchful superintendence of her constitutional head".<sup>7</sup> New Jersey reported that "it continues to dwell together in unity, and increaseth with the increase of God".<sup>8</sup> Virginia, while having nothing to record of special interest, added, "There has, indeed, been much precious fruit attending the ordinary ministrations of the Sanctuary".<sup>9</sup> North Carolina made more than a veiled reference to the difficulties arising out of practices and doctrines which had disturbed the peace of the diocese under the administration of Bishop L. S. Ives and the investigation then under way, and added, "Whatever may be the result, the diocese, true to the Prayer Book as the embodiment of the Church mind, remains unshaken on ground hitherto occupied".<sup>10</sup> South Carolina reported an increasing interest in the moral and religious welfare of the slave population, 558 having been confirmed. In Georgia all the parishes enjoyed the ministrations of the Word and the Sacraments. Florida was looking towards the election of a bishop. In Alabama the Church was steadily increasing and "winning the confidence and affection of many hitherto ignorant

<sup>3</sup>*Journal, 1850, p. 155.*

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid., p. 155.*

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid., p. 156.*

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid., p. 158.*

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid., p. 160.*

<sup>8</sup>*1850 Journal, p. 163.*

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid., p. 166.*

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid., p. 167.*



of her claims".<sup>11</sup> The report stated that "the clergy and people seem to be more and more impressed with the importance of providing instruction for the colored population. Services are held especially for their benefit, and special care has been given to the catechizing of the young".<sup>11</sup> Mississippi was prospering under the care of its new bishop, William Mercer Green, and from many points the cry was heard "for the duly commissioned servant of God to break to them the bread of life".<sup>12</sup> The Church in Tennessee is reported as "steadily gaining strength and gradually extending her influence." From that diocese two things were specially noted: the revival in some parishes of the daily services of the Church and the adoption of weekly offerings in most of the parishes. Ohio reported that "its hold upon the favor and confidence of the community at large was strong",<sup>13</sup> and that she was mindful of the claims of missions beyond her own limits. Indiana was emerging from twelve years of depression, but rejoicing in the advent of Bishop Upfold who had undertaken the episcopate without any provision for his support. Illinois was increasing in numbers and strength though several of the parishes had only a nominal existence. Michigan had erected a colored church in Detroit. Of the fourteen clergy in Missouri one was United States Army chaplain at Fort Vancouver, Oregon. Wisconsin reported that "the harvest was great, but the laborers are few".<sup>14</sup> The Church in Texas was organized as a diocese on January 1, 1849, with ten parishes and eight clergymen in addition to the provisional bishop.

When the Cincinnati convention met there were two domestic missionary districts—the North-west under Jackson Kemper, and the South-west, under Bishop George Washington Freeman, both created in 1835. Missouri, Indiana and Wisconsin had become dioceses. In 1850 in addition to Wisconsin which was under his jurisdiction pending the election of a bishop, Kemper's jurisdiction embraced Iowa, Minnesota and the regions beyond extending to far-flung Wyoming. At that time there were six clergymen in Iowa where the prospects were reported as "more encouraging than heretofore". The foundations of the Church in Minnesota had been laid by the Rev. E. G. Gear, military chaplain at Fort Snelling and missionary at large. Kemper reports the arrival of the Rev. James Lloyd Breck and his Associate Mission. Services were being held regularly at six points, including St. Paul where the corner-stone of Christ Church had just been laid, the cost of which was to be \$1,275. The bishop notes that Nashotah

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>13</sup>*Journal*, 1850, p. ..

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. ..

had become a theological institution exclusively. He bears witness to its soundness in the faith and declares that "It will, by the divine blessing, be an Institution where, as heretofore, candidates for the ministry will be taught the sacred principles of the Gospel, as maintained by those great luminaries of the Anglican Church, Andrewes, Hooker, Bull, Butler and Pearson", and he testified that "the Professor of Systematic Theology at Nashotah, has, on all proper occasions, both public and private, exposed and denounced the fallacies, idolatry, and unfounded claims of the Church of Rome".<sup>15</sup>

The missionary jurisdiction of the South-west was under Bishop Freeman who made his home at Little Rock, Arkansas; it embraced Texas, Arkansas and the Indian Territory. In Texas there were two self-supporting parishes—Galveston and Houston; four missionaries and an army chaplain at San Antonio. The bishop reported that the "prospects were everywhere brightening". Arkansas had three missionaries, no addition to that number having been made in five years. In the whole State there were about one hundred and fifty communicants. In the vast Indian Territory there was but one minister of the Church, the Rev. Daniel McManus, an army chaplain at Fort Gibson.

Foreign missions were still in their infancy, the Church carrying on work in Africa, China, Greece and Turkey. The Rev. John Hill and Mrs. Hill were engaged in educational work in Athens. The experiment of a mission in the domains of the Sultan of Turkey had failed and Bishop Southgate resigned that jurisdiction at the Cincinnati convention. The mission in China under Bishop William J. Boone had but one presbyter. From its inception in 1835 until 1847 there had been but one native baptism; between 1847 and 1850 there were fifteen; and thirteen were under instruction. There were just seven native Christians. The work in Africa had so progressed that at this convention the Rev. John Payne was elected missionary bishop of Cape Palmas "and parts adjacent, on the west coast of Africa".

One other indication of the state of the Church in 1850 may be mentioned; the trustees of the General Theological Seminary reported 46 students whose average expense was about \$125 per annum. The Rev. Doctor Bird Wilson, after thirty years' service as Professor of Systematic Divinity had resigned, as also had Dr. Clement C. Moore, Professor of Oriental and Greek Literature. The examining committees reported that "they had agreed to the request of the professors to conduct all the examinations with reference, as far as practicable, to any supposed tendencies among the students to Romish errors".<sup>16</sup>

The House of Bishops met in the Sunday School room of Christ

<sup>15</sup>*Journal*, 1850, p. 200.

<sup>16</sup>*Journal*, 1850, p. 214.

Church; the House of Deputies in the church proper. The sermon was preached by Benjamin Bosworth Smith, bishop of Kentucky, from the text: "To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God" (Ephesians, III., 10). His theme was "The special and peculiar vocation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States". The missionary sermon was delivered by John Henry Hopkins, first bishop of Vermont.

Twenty-eight bishops were in attendance, Philander Chase of Illinois, being senior and Presiding Bishop. The Rev. J. Mayhew Wainwright, later provisional bishop of New York, was secretary of the House. Next to Chase in seniority was Thomas Church Brownell, the embodiment of Connecticut churchmanship. Then came William Meade of Virginia; Levi Silliman Ives of North Carolina; Hopkins of Vermont; Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio and George Washington Doane of New Jersey; the gaunt Otey of Tennessee; Jackson Kemper, first missionary bishop; McCoskry of Michigan; Leonidas Polk a former West Point cadet and future general in the Confederate army, who was consecrated in Cincinnati on December 9, 1838; De Lancey of Western New York; Gadsen of South Carolina; the fiery and catholic Whittingham of Maryland; Stephen Elliott of Georgia; Alfred Lee of Delaware, learned in the law; John Johns, said to have been the last Calvinist in the Church; Manton Eastburn of Massachusetts, who boasted that he had not changed a theological opinion since he was seven years old; Carlton Chase of New Hampshire; the saintly Cobbs of Alabama; Cicero S. Hawks, first bishop of Missouri, and George Washington Freeman, missionary bishop of the South-west. The junior bishops were Alonzo Potter of Pennsylvania; George Burgess of Maine; George Upfold, first bishop of Indiana, and William Mercer Green of Mississippi.

The House of Deputies was composed of 94 clerical and 69 lay deputies. The Rev. William E. Wyatt, rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore, Maryland, was chosen president for the eighth successive convention, having been first elected in 1829. No other president of the House has served for a like period. After a contest the Rev. Dr. M. A. De Wolfe Howe of Pennsylvania, was elected secretary. Among the clerical deputies were such old war horses as Dr. William Cooper Mead of Connecticut; Dr. S. F. Jarvis, chairman of the Committee on Canons; Dr. Alexander H. Vinton of Massachusetts, whose mind was said to "have been cast in a gigantic mould"; Dr. Samuel Seabury of New York; Dr. William Sparrow of the Virginia Seminary, and Dr. Thomas G. Atkinson, later bishop of North Carolina. Among the lay

deputies were such authorities on canon law as Murray Hoffman of New York and Hugh Davy Evans of Maryland.

Some important canonical changes and additions were enacted. A new canon authorized a suspended bishop to resign; another required bishops to keep a register of their visitations. A committee was authorized to arrange for the printing of a standard edition of the Bible, and one to prepare a German Prayer Book; also one in the Welsh language.

Considerable time was spent in efforts to adjust certain difficulties relating to two dioceses both of which involved important constitutional questions. Owing to the indefinite suspension of the bishop of New York that diocese was deprived of the episcopate for a period of years. It could not canonically proceed to the election of a bishop and was obliged to depend upon the casual services of other diocesans for confirmations. This convention adopted a canon authorizing a diocese, under such conditions, to elect a provisional bishop empowered to exercise all the functions of a diocesan. In the event of the sentence of suspension being remitted the provisional bishop became assistant bishop, but with the right of succession.

A memorial, largely signed by certain presbyters and laymen of the diocese of Maryland was presented asking for a ruling on the rights and powers of a bishop on the occasion of his canonical visitations. Bishop Whittingham had claimed the inherent right to administer the Holy Communion at a visitation and also, when present, to pronounce the absolution at morning or evening prayer. It had proved to be a troublesome question sharply dividing the diocese. It had, however, been sustained by an ecclesiastical court of the diocese and approved by a large majority in the diocesan convention. The memorialists, all of whom were Low Churchmen, repudiated such claim, contending that it was contrary to "the recognized and legal rights of presbyters." The memorial was referred to a joint committee of the Houses. As a result the canon was amended by the addition of the words: "ministering the Word, and, if he thinks fit, the 'Sacrament of the Lord's Supper'."<sup>17</sup>

Texas, which began as a "foreign" mission, was admitted into union with the convention. The resignation of Bishop Southgate of Turkey, was accepted, and John Payne was elected missionary bishop of Cape Palmas, Africa.

Indications of future legislation appear in the Journal. The constitution of a court of appeals was deferred to the next convention.

<sup>17</sup>*White, Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Annotated, p. 421.*



A curious resolution relating to provinces and the General Convention read thus:

“Resolved, the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring, that a Joint Committee, to consist of five Bishops and of five Clergymen, and five Laymen be appointed to report to the next Triennial General Convention, on the expediency of arranging the dioceses, according to geographical position, into four Provinces, to be designated the Eastern, Northern, Southern and Western Provinces, and to be united, under a General Convention or Council of the Provinces, having exclusive control over Prayer Books, Articles, Offices and Homilies of this Church, to be held once in every twenty years.”<sup>18</sup>

Much more significant was a resolution presented by Alonzo Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania, calling for a committee to consider

“Whether some plan cannot be proposed, by which, consistently with the principles of our Reformed Communion, the services of intelligent and pious persons of both sexes, may be secured to the Church, to a greater extent, in the education of the young, the relief of the sick and destitute, the care of orphans and friendless immigrants, and the reformation of the vicious.”<sup>19</sup>

The record is silent as to the disposition of this proposal, but it belonged to the category of coming events which cast their shadows before.

For some obscure reason the House of Bishops decided to omit the traditional pastoral letter. The convention closed with a joint service held in Christ Church at which the address was delivered by the venerable Presiding Bishop, Philander Chase.

### THE CONVENTION OF 1910.

Sixty years elapsed before the General Convention met again in Cincinnati, then, as now, the see city of Southern Ohio of which the beloved Boyd Vincent was bishop. The sessions were held in the Music Hall. The Holy Communion was celebrated by Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, Presiding Bishop, and the convention sermon was delivered by the Right Reverend John Wordsworth, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, England, from the words: “He spake of the temple of His Body” (John 2:21).

The amazing growth of the Church in the sixty years may be gathered from the following table:

<sup>18</sup>*Journal, 1850, p. 146.*

<sup>19</sup>*Journal, 1850, p. 132.*

	1850.	1910.
Bishops . . . . .	28	110
Dioceses . . . . .	29	65
Domestic Missionary Dis- tricts . . . . .	2	22
Foreign Missionary Dis- tricts . . . . .	2	9
Clergy . . . . .	1,558	5,513
Communicants . . . . .	79,802	937,861

The bishop of Southern Ohio, Boyd Vincent, was elected chairman of the House of Bishops, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart of Connecticut, secretary. The roll of the dead since the last General Convention of 1907 included such names as Henry Codman Potter of New York; William Hobart Hare of South Dakota; Henry Yates Satterlee of Washington, and William N. McVickar of Rhode Island. Of the 104 bishops in attendance in 1910 seven are still in active service: Graves of China; Peter Trimble Rowe of Alaska; Francis of Indianapolis; Gravatt of West Virginia; Theodore Bratton of Mississippi; John N. McCormick of Western Michigan, and Benjamin Brewster, then of Western Colorado, now of Maine. Of those who have retired there were present William Lawrence of Massachusetts; Chauncey B. Brewster of Connecticut; William H. Moreland of Sacramento; Charles E. Woodstock of Kentucky; F. F. Johnson, then of South Dakota, and Robert L. Paddock of Eastern Oregon. At the forthcoming convention the senior bishops will be Graves of China and Lawrence of Massachusetts, both of whom were consecrated forty-four years ago. Next in order will be Bishop Rowe who was consecrated in 1895.

The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies organized by the election of the Rev. Randolph H. McKim of Washington as president for the third time, and of the Rev. Dr. Henry Anstice of New York as secretary. Two hundred and ninety-four clerical deputies and an equal number of lay deputies had been elected though not all were in attendance. It is worthy of note that no fewer than 36 clerical deputies were later selected for the episcopate. Among the lay deputies were such well known men as Burton Mansfield of Connecticut; George F. Henry of Iowa; Robert H. Gardiner of Maine; Joseph Packard of Baltimore; F. C. Morehouse, editor of the *Living Church*; J. Pierpont Morgan and Francis Lynde Stetson of New York; Samuel Mather of Cleveland; William Cooper Procter of Cincinnati; Francis A. Lewis of Philadelphia, and that stalwart Virginia Evangelical, Rosewell Page. Mr. Page has been elected as a deputy to the forthcoming convention.

The convention sat for fifteen days. The classic debate centered around the perennial proposal to change the name of the Church. Mr. George Wharton Pepper, lay deputy from the diocese of Pennsylvania, offered a resolution to amend the constitution by changing the title page of the Book of Common Prayer so that it would read as follows:

The Book of Common Prayer  
And Administration of the Sacraments  
And other Rites and Ceremonies of  
THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH

According to the use of that portion thereof known as

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

In the United States of America,

Together with

The Psalter or Psalms of David.

According to rule the resolution went to the Committee on the Prayer Book which eventually presented a majority and a minority report. In view of the wide divergence of opinion which developed within the committee the majority felt that what was offered "as an eirenicon, is certain to prove a cause of discord", and expressed the opinion "that so momentous a change should not be initiated without substantial unanimity". The minority of four members recommended the adoption of the change. The vote by orders was taken on the adoption of the minority report—in other words, to approve the change of the name of the Church. The result was as follows: In the clerical order 42 dioceses voted "aye"; in the lay order, 31. The vote against the change was: in the clerical order 15 dioceses; in the lay 24. In 10 dioceses the clerical vote was equally divided; in the lay order 8. In the parlance of the House the minority report was defeated "by a non-concurrence of orders".

Creative work was a large feature of the convention. It was expressed in what has proved to be a far-flung gesture in the direction of Christian Unity.

In a memorable speech the late Bishop Brent suggested that the time had come frankly to take counsel with other Christian groups with a view to discover the divisive elements, both theological and ecclesiastical, which had proved to be barriers dividing the Church. The suggestion was favorably received. A lay deputy of the diocese of New York, who then desired to be anonymous, offered to contribute the sum

of \$100,000 to promote this object. It became known, however, that it was the late John Pierpont Morgan. The Rev. Dr. William Thomas Manning, then a clerical deputy from New York, presented a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee to consider the question of the calling of a world conference on Faith and Order. The report of that committee, presented later in the session, is one of the most significant statements on record in the history of this Church. It read in part:

"We believe that the time has now arrived when representatives of the whole family of Christ, led by the Holy Spirit, may be willing to come together for the consideration of questions of Faith and Order. We believe, further, that all Christian Communion are in accord with us in our desire to lay aside self-will, and to put on the mind which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. We would heed this call of the Spirit of God in all lowliness, and with singleness of purpose. We would place ourselves by the side of our fellow Christians, looking not only on our own things, but also on the things of others, convinced that our one hope of mutual understanding is in taking personal counsel together in the spirit of love and forbearance. It is our conviction that such a Conference for the purpose of study and discussion, without power to legislate or to adopt resolutions, is the next step towards unity."

The following added words betray a humility which has not always characterized the Protestant Episcopal Church:

"With grief for our aloofness in the past, and for other faults of pride and self-sufficiency which make for schism; with loyalty to the truth as we see it and with respect for the convictions of those who differ from us; holding the belief that the beginnings of unity are to be found in the clear statement and full consideration of those things in which we differ, as well as of those things in which we are as one."

The committee recommended and the convention approved the appointment of a joint Commission of both Houses authorized to arrange for a world conference on Faith and Order "and that all Christian Communion throughout the world which confess our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour be asked to unite with us in arranging for and conducting such a Conference". The chairman of the commission was Boyd Vincent, Bishop of Southern Ohio.

It is this movement, so inaugurated at the General Convention in 1910, which actually brought about, after seventeen years' preparation, at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1927, the first World Conference on Faith and Order, including representatives of almost every Christian Church



in the world except the Church of Rome; and which indeed has aroused the whole Christian world to a new interest in Christian Unity and even in ultimate Church Reunion. The second World Conference on Faith and Order is meeting this very year (1937) in Edinburgh, Scotland.

There were some important constitutional and canonical changes made. Under the head of the former, and subject to final ratification, was a provision that on the expiration of the term of the Presiding Bishop, hitherto governed by seniority, the office should be filled by election by the House of Bishops subject to confirmation by the House of Deputies. The choice was to be limited to bishops having jurisdiction within the United States. Provision was also made for the election of suffragan bishops who would have a seat, but not a vote in the House of Bishops. The Board of Missions was reorganized and the office of president created. After the name of Bishop Brent, nominated by the House of Bishops, had been withdrawn, both Houses concurred in the choice of Arthur Selden Lloyd, then bishop-coadjutor of Virginia, for that office.

In spite of the vigorous protest of the Rev. Dr. J. S. B. Hodges, the eminent church musician, who described some of the tunes as "consecrated ragtime" the issue of a mission hymnal designed for use in parochial and rescue missions, was approved. The name of the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor was changed to the Joint Commission on Social Service.

Three new dioceses were admitted into union with the Convention—Olympia, Sacramento and Erie. Arizona was separated from New Mexico and became a missionary district. North Texas, San Joaquin and Eastern Oklahoma were also made missionary districts; likewise Wuhu, in China. Consent was given to the consecration of James De Wolfe Perry, Jr., as bishop of Rhode Island and six missionary bishops were elected; George A. Beecher, Kearney, Nebraska; Theodore P. Thurston, Eastern Oklahoma; Edward A. Temple, North Texas; Louis C. Sanford, San Joaquin; F. L. Pott, Wuhu; J. A. Atwood, Arizona, and Frederick F. Johnson became missionary bishop of South Dakota.

The second Cincinnati convention marked a great step forward in the life of the Church.



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## EDITORIAL NOTE

THIS issue marks the end of the sixth volume of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The editor-in-chief desires to express to his editorial associates and to all who have generously contributed articles, his grateful appreciation for their co-operation, without which the publication could not have been maintained. And the more so, because such service has been rendered in every case without monetary compensation. There is ample evidence that the MAGAZINE has materially quickened interest in the history of the Church. Under the energetic leadership of Mr. Stowe, one of our associate editors, the Church Historical Society has taken on a new lease of life. Not a few of the younger clergy are pursuing research work and are encouraged thereto by the fact that the MAGAZINE affords them an opportunity for publication.

A perusal of the announcement of forthcoming articles will give an indication of how large and interesting is our field. All our available space for 1938 is filled, and far on in 1939. And, as yet, the fringe is only touched. Our great need is an increase in the number of annual subscribers. We have no money to spend upon what circulation managers call "promotion," and must therefore depend largely upon our present subscribers to enlist others. If the circulation can be materially increased we shall be in a position to enlarge the number of pages and, we hope, to reduce the subscription from four to three dollars.

E. Chase Cheney

## THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL—THIRD BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

*By William A. Beardsley*

**I**N the archives of the diocese of Connecticut there is a little age-yellowing manuscript, of particular interest to the student of Connecticut church history. It is autobiographic as well as autographic, for it is the story of the early years of Thomas Church Brownell written with his own hand.

It bears the date of May 22nd, 1858, and is addressed to Bishop Williams, who at some time, apparently, had exacted from Bishop Brownell the promise to set down the record of the early years of his life. This little manuscript is the fulfilment of that promise. For what purpose Bishop Williams desired this narrative is not stated, but it is a fair assumption that, in view of Bishop Brownell's advancing years and failing health, Bishop Williams felt that the day was approaching, when to him would fall the duty of supplying those essential facts which are called for when a leader falls, and so he would be fore-armed against that day.

Much as one would like to quote freely from that manuscript, even to give it in full,<sup>1</sup> yet one could hardly do that in the limits of an article like this. But perhaps we may be permitted to let the bishop bring himself into the world, and he does so in these words: "I was born at Westport, in the State of Massachusetts, on the 19th day of October, in the year 1779. I am the oldest son of the late Sylvester and Mercy Brownell, and the first born of their eleven children—five sons and six daughters." That was a good orthodox number as families went in those days. It might even have been larger and still have been normal.

Brownell's boyhood days were spent on the farm. That goes far to explain him. The farm was a great training school for men in days gone by, as any reading of the records will reveal. Somehow the farm made for strength of character as well as of muscle. It wove a rugged and durable fibre into the composition of the man.

An early ancestor of Brownell had bartered with the Narragan-

<sup>1</sup>*Printed in full in Beardsley's History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, Vol. II. p. 189.*



sett Indians for a "tract of land lying on the seacoast, extending westward from the Acoaxset River, to the border of the Rhode Island Colony". Within that tract lay the Brownell farm, and Westport, where the bishop was born. That farm remained in the possession of the Brownell family through several generations. But about thirty years before the bishop wrote his autobiographical sketch his father moved into Rhode Island where he owned a farm in the town of Little Compton. This change of residence did not carry him far afield, for Little Compton was situated about midway in that narrow strip of Rhode Island, lying between Massachusetts on the east and the Sakonnet River on the west, directly opposite and adjoining the region wherein was Westport.

It was in this home at Little Compton that his parents spent the last years of their life. His father died about 1840 at the advanced age of eighty-one, his mother equally old having preceded his father by three years. If length of life be hereditary then we have the explanation, in part certainly, of the bishop's longer life of eighty-five.

It was apparently about 1828 that the change was made from Westport to Little Compton. That would mean that the bishop's boyhood days were spent in Westport, and even some of his young manhood days. And so it would be in the district school at Westport that the foundations of his education were laid. And those foundations were such as the average country lad could get. It was in the district school that the initial construction began. And if the character of the foundation laid may be judged by the superstructures built thereon, then the old time district school has a fine bill of health.

Anyone who is at all familiar with the story of the little country school a century or more back knows the difficulties under which it labored. Not the least of those difficulties was the schoolmaster. Assuming that he could be procured, he was not always all that could be desired, either in point of character or erudition. Westport was not immune from this difficulty of obtaining a schoolmaster, and so one term it found itself without a teacher.

But there was a temporary solution to this difficulty. Young Brownell was a pupil in the school. He was fifteen years old, and clearly had given proof of his sterling qualities of mind and character, or else no one would ever have suggested that he assume, even temporarily, the roll of the village schoolmaster. But he was asked to fill the gap, and did so for several months, and with justifiable pride says: "I succeeded in securing the respect of my former school-mates." There is no boasting there, merely the statement of a fact, a fact which stood out clearly in the memory of the old bishop.

This youthful venture of his in the art of pedagogy is interesting, because it gives us a glimpse of what later became the outstanding feature of his life and work. Bishop Brownell was essentially a teacher. We shall see that as our story unfolds.

When Brownell was about eighteen he felt the need of greater educational opportunities than the district school afforded. The obvious and easiest thing for him to do was to turn to the pastor of the Congregational Church where the family worshipped. In him he found a sympathetic helper and adviser. Not only did he instruct him in certain elementary subjects, but he encouraged him to prepare for college.

Not far away in Taunton, Massachusetts, there was Bristol Academy, which at that time had for its head the Rev. Simeon Doggett or Daggett. Thither Brownell went and by the fall of 1800 was able to enter the freshman class of Brown University, then known as the College at Providence. At the head of this institution was the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, a man of rare attainments and of strong personality, who at the early age of twenty-four had been placed at the head of the college. Young though he was, yet the success of his administration justified his choice.

But the College at Providence was not to retain its gifted young president long. In 1802, after an administration of ten years, Dr. Maxcy (he had received the degree of D. D. from Harvard the year before) was elected to the presidency of Union College. Ordinarily the departure of the president from a college makes no great difference with the individual student. He bears up under the change and goes on his way towards graduation, if that be his way. But here it was different. Thomas Brownell, the student, had formed such strong attachment to Dr. Maxcy, the president, that he packed his bag and went to Schenectady with him, and entered the junior class at Union.

Brownell's transfer of loyalties does not seem to have interfered with his scholastic progress. He completed the remaining two years of his college course and graduated at the head of his class in 1804. Brownell had now realized his ambition, entertained, no doubt, as far back as when, in the district school, he, a callow lad, had tried his hand at schoolmastering, the ambition of a collegiate education.

But now came the question, which comes to every sincere young man upon the completion of his college course, "What am I going to do with this sheaf of learning?" Perhaps that question came with greater force to the young men of older days, because a college edu-

cation was so definitely and distinctly acquired as a preparation for the life work that was to follow.

The ministry at that time was the learned profession, which, if it did not receive the greatest consideration from young men coming out of the colleges, yet did receive sufficient consideration to carry many of them into its ranks. Of the sixty-six men, for instance, graduating from Yale College in 1804, twenty-one entered the ministry. Perhaps that may be above the average, but it is an indication of the strong claim which the ministry had upon the men who came out of the colleges.

We know that Brownell had a definite purpose in his academic career, for in his autobiography he says, "It had been, for some time, my intention to devote myself to the study of theology, at the conclusion of my collegiate course; and it was the earnest wish of my parents that I should do so". It would be the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, of course, for that was the church of his parents, and the church in which he had been reared. But he was not taking the step hastily, just as a matter of course, and without any adequate thought. And thought did not make his course any clearer through the dreary jungle of the Calvinistic system. He began to see bogies behind the trees, fearsome shapes which he did not like, spectres athwart his path.

Now did he wish to go that way? He was not sure, nor was he sure that he ought to turn back, or turn aside. Brownell was a careful man, never, apparently, guided by impulse. The things which he thought he had seen were perhaps only spectres, with no other existence than in his imagination. He would make no final decision until he had sought for further light, and, if possible, get a clearer understanding of the things that bothered him. That was as it should have been. Not lightly could a sincere man abandon the church of his fathers.

Over in Albany was a distinguished clergyman, pastor of the Presbyterian church there, the Rev. Eliphalet Nott, very soon to become president of Union College. Apparently Brownell appealed to him for help in his theological difficulties, and that help was freely and gladly given. Mr. Nott knew his theology, and knew how to explain it to a wavering soul seeking light. Brownell says of Mr. Nott's explanation of the doctrines that bothered him, "He had the faculty of presenting these doctrines upon a somewhat mitigated form", a rather quaint way of putting it, and delightful in its unconscious humor. So far as the presentation of these stern Calvinistic doctrines is concerned the work of mitigation can hardly be said to have ceased. It has certainly gone far since Dr. Nott's day.

But Mr. Brownell's problems were not solved by his appeal to Dr. Nott. He put into his hands certain books which Brownell read carefully, but when he turned from their perusal other difficulties had arisen, difficulties concerned more with the polity of the Church than with its theology. He frankly said to his mentor that it seemed to him, from the reading of these books, that the "first organization of the Christian Church must have been more like that of the Episcopal communion, than either the Presbyterian or Congregational denominations".

Evidently Dr. Nott failed to take the full measure of this young man. He was honestly trying to get his feet on the solid ground, and when Dr. Nott treated these questionings somewhat cavalierly, and added, "Go to Dr. Beasley; he can tell you", why, he just went. That was Dr. Frederic Beasley who was the rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany. To him he stated his difficulties, and Dr. Beasley gave him Archbishop Potter's "Discourse on Church Government".

When the aged bishop years later set down his recollections of those difficult days when he was feeling his way to the light, he says, with real enthusiasm, "The perusal of this work was like the opening of a new world to me. I read the whole with deep attention. It unfolded to me a new aspect of Christianity. The survey afforded to me unspeakable relief; but it was necessarily attended with many regrets. I had no near relation, and no intimate friend, belonging to the Episcopal Church; and I seemed to be left alone in the world, in regard to my religious sympathies".

There is a real pathos in that cry of the young man emerging into a clearer understanding of the difficulties which had beset him. He had reached the point now where he needed not merely intellectual guidance, but that sympathy which could come only from an understanding heart, which only one, keenly appreciative of what the transfer of his loyalties involved, could give. At the moment there was none to render that help.

Now began a period of incubation, or better, perhaps, to change the figure, a period of a settling of the ground which had been upturned. The next few years of his life were not necessarily planned for that purpose, but intentionally or unintentionally that was the purpose they served. The Rev. Dr. Nott had succeeded Dr. Maxcy as president of Union College, and Brownell's pertinacity in his quest for theological light had not alienated Dr. Nott's regard for him, for very soon after his induction as president, Brownell received the appointment of tutor in the Latin and Greek languages. He began his duties April 5th, 1805.



For the next eleven years his work was academic, and in Union College. After two years as tutor in Latin and Greek, he was made professor of Belles Lettres and Moral Philosophy. In this department he remained for two years. But Union wished to keep pace with the times. Chemistry and mineralogy were beginning to receive proper recognition, and Union must have that department, and Professor Brownell was asked to take charge of it. Professorial specialization was not so much in evidence then as it is now. But then as chemistry and mineralogy were comparatively new sciences, perhaps Professor Brownell was at no greater disadvantage in attempting to teach them than any other man would have been. In any event the teacher must needs be the learner as well, and there was no reason why the professor of Belles Lettres and Moral Philosophy could not become the professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy. In the latter case he would at least be dealing with something tangible.

The college gave Mr. Brownell a year's leave of absence, and he was to spend the year abroad in preparation for his new task. He met distinguished scientists, visited their laboratories, attended their lectures, traveled on foot through the agricultural and mining districts of England and Scotland and Ireland, all the time gathering specimens to take back home with him. Of that year abroad he was able to say that it was "one of the most busy and eventful years of my life". At the beginning of the fall term in 1810, he began his work as professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy.

That year abroad may have been, as he said, one of the most busy and eventful years of his life, but on the strength of the record the year 1811 was even more eventful, and possibly just as busy, though along quite different lines. On the 6th of August, 1811, he was married to Charlotte Dickinson, daughter of Tertullus Dickinson, of Lansingburgh, N. Y.

Now that marriage had a remarkable influence upon his whole future life. Let us recall again that rather pathetic lament of his when he was uncertainly groping along the way which seemed to be leading to the Episcopal Church, a way which he was not averse to following: "I had no near relation, and no intimate friend, belonging to the Episcopal Church; and I seemed to be left alone in the world in regard to my religious sympathies". That condition was now in the process of being remedied, for Miss Dickinson was an ardent member of the Episcopal Church, as were nearly all of her immediate relatives.

Though for some time he had been convinced of the historical and scriptural grounds of Episcopacy, he had not felt hitherto that it

was necessary to transfer his church connections. But he was now "led to give a more particular examination to this subject". However great may have been the influence of his wife in helping him to make the change, yet it did not come at once.

There is a delightful passage bearing on this point in the reminiscences of Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, who, "after four years of mossy quietude as an assistant minister in Trinity Church, Boston", to use his own words, became the rector of Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut, where he was brought into close associations with the Brownells. In speaking of Bishop Brownell's affiliation with the Presbyterian Church, he says, "his wife used to tell me how they would start off together on Sunday morning and walk on until they reached a certain corner, where they would separate, and he go one way to the Presbyterian church, while she wended her solitary walk to the Episcopal. It was not long, however, before he followed in her footsteps, as anyone might have predicted who knew Mrs. Brownell—a most attractive and winning woman, and as full of quaint and quiet humor as she was of goodness, and so continued to the very end". And then he adds a brief comment which is eloquent in what it suggests rather than in what it says, "Aged people would be more in demand if they were always as considerate and cheerful as those two persons were".

There is extant a quaint little photograph showing the bishop and his wife seated in their Victorian living room. For them the sun is near its setting. There may yet be a few more moments of twilight, but their work is done, their life is lived, and as they sit there in the sweet and confident placidity of old age, looking out upon a world which is theirs no more, and with which they have no longer to contend, one feels the truth and force of Bishop Clark's gracious summation of the character of this godly pair.

Professor Brownell was baptized September 5th, 1813, in St. George's Church, Schenectady, N. Y., and soon after confirmed. That he had not been baptized earlier he explains, was due to the fact that when, owing to a revival the other members of the family were baptized, he at the moment was away at school, and, as he says, "it was then considered almost an unheard of thing that a person twenty years of age should receive baptism, unless he was the subject of some prevailing *revival*".

Now as a member of the Episcopal Church he began to study theology as taught by that Church, not, as he tells us, "with a view to the relinquishment of my college avocations, but in the hope that I might add to my usefulness by receiving holy orders, and affording a Sun-

day supply to some vacant parishes in my vicinity". Certainly that was a commendable purpose, but little did he realize how rapidly events were moving for him, and the direction they were taking.

On April 11th, 1816, he was ordained a deacon in Trinity Church, New York, by the bishop of New York, the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D. D., and on the 4th of August in that same year, in the same place and by the same bishop, he was advanced to the priesthood. His life was closely bound in with that of Bishop Hobart, a fact which will be more and more apparent as we proceed.

At first he did carry out his idea of being helpful to small and vacant parishes within easy reach of Schenectady, and this might have gone on for some time but for the fact that a troublesome disease affected his lungs, and on the advice of his physician he went south. His sojourn there brought about his recovery. On his way home he stopped in New York and preached both in Trinity and St. Paul's. Not long after his return to Schenectady he received an invitation to become an assistant minister in Trinity Church. Bishop Hobart was the rector. He was to fill the vacancy occasioned by the defection and deposition of the Rev. Dr. T. Y. How. The rector nominated him, and the nomination was approved, "in confidence that Mr. Brownell will relinquish the office if his health shall not be found so established as to enable him to discharge his duties". They were taking no chances you see. But Mr. Brownell was not to die for forty-seven years.

He accepted the invitation, and on August 11th, 1818, he entered upon the duties of Assistant Minister in Trinity Church, and as he says, "I supposed I had then entered upon the labors of my entire subsequent life", an altogether too modest view to take of himself, and of his chances for promotion.

But his connection with Trinity Parish was of brief duration. Within the year a deputation from Connecticut sought him out and informed him that the diocese of Connecticut had chosen him to be its bishop. No doubt Bishop Hobart's hand was in this. During his labors in Connecticut, as provisional bishop, he had come to know something about the diocese, and now he had come to know something about Mr. Brownell. He knew that Connecticut had had its difficulties in choosing a bishop, and he knew that difficulties still remained which needed smoothing out. Did he not see in Mr. Brownell the man who could do it?

Brownell accepted the election, and in due time was consecrated the third bishop of Connecticut. The consecration took place in Trinity Church, New Haven, October 27th, 1819. His consecrators were the

Rt. Rev. William White, D. D., bishop of Pennsylvania, the Rt. Rev. John Henry Hobart, D. D., bishop of New York, and the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, D. D., bishop of the Eastern Diocese, that is, of all New England except Connecticut.

Thus far in our story have we come, personally conducted, so to speak, as regards essential details, by the bishop himself. But with his consecration his autobiography ends. From now on we must find our own way. It presents few difficulties, and leads along pleasant and fruitful fields.

A word should be said as to the situation of the Church in Connecticut prior to Mr. Brownell's election and at the time of his accession to office. As is well known, the Congregational Standing Order had long been and still was supreme. To-day we boast of the freedom of the Church from the State. It was not ever thus. The early fathers left England, according to tradition, to escape the tyranny of the Church over the State, and the first thing they did here was to rivet on the fetters that bound the two, with the result that "Church and State were so closely united as ever they were in England". The people were free to worship, O yes, so long as they worshipped in the right way, but that did not happen to be the way in which the Church of England people wished to worship. Nor did they derive any pleasure in paying for something they did not want. And therefore taxes, which were not voluntary but obligatory, for the support of the Congregational Order were particularly obnoxious.

In 1817 the political complexion of the State changed with the election of Oliver Wolcott as governor, and Jonathan Ingersoll as lieutenant governor. Jonathan Ingersoll was a member of the Episcopal Church and warden of Trinity Church, New Haven. He was the first State officer since the founding of the colony to be other than a Congregationalist. Some of the ablest men in the State were in the General Assembly, and the Episcopal Church was well represented there.

The outcome of this political revolution was that a new constitution was adopted for the State, a constitution which gave to everyone equal civil and religious privileges. There was no longer any such thing as a state church. Theologians and politicians were sure that the State was headed for ruin.

In the year following the adoption of this constitution, that is, in 1819, Bishop Brownell entered upon the duties of his office. His predecessor, Bishop Jarvis, had died May 3rd, 1813, and for one reason or another the diocese had failed to supply his successor. It did go at one time so far as to elect the Rev. Dr. John Croes of New



Jersey, but he had no desire to leave New Jersey, and New Jersey acted with dispatch to see that he did not leave, by electing him their own bishop.

Connecticut's deliberation in choosing a successor to Bishop Jarvis was due in part to their inability to unite upon a suitable man, but in larger part to the fact that the Bishop's Fund was deemed inadequate. The treasurer of that fund reported to the convention in 1817, "there can be but one sentiment in the Church, in relation to the episcopal office. All will admit its incumbent should be, if they desire the Church should flourish, a man of superior virtues and talents. The bishop of the diocese of Connecticut should, if possible, be inferior to no other man in it. Such a man is not to be obtained without adequate support".

No doubt the treasurer hoped to incite the convention to renewed efforts to increase the fund. But whatever may have been the state of the fund, in 1819 the convention proceeded to act. The diocese had been long enough without a head. True that for about three years Bishop Hobart had been serving as provisional bishop, and serving very acceptably, but still he was not the bishop of the diocese.

And so on June 2nd, 1819, the clerical members of the convention chose the Rev. Thomas Church Brownell to be their bishop, and on the following day that choice was unanimously confirmed by the laity. Let it be said that whatever hesitancy the convention may have felt regarding the adequacy of the fund for the bishop's support, that hesitancy was not shared in by the bishop-elect, for in his letter of acceptance he says, "with respect to pecuniary support, I do not feel any great solicitude. I have no doubt but the diocese will cheerfully take upon itself the maintenance of my family; and till the Bishop's Fund is adequate to this object, I think it proper to reserve to myself the right of deriving any necessary aid from the performance of such parish or missionary services as may not be incompatible with my duties to the diocese at large". His salary was to be fifteen hundred dollars.

And now Thomas Church Brownell, just turned forty, is a bishop in the Church of God, and bishop of Connecticut. His rapid promotion has no parallel in the history of the American Church, and probably not in the history of the whole Anglican Communion. Baptized in 1813, a bishop in 1819. But though he had been shot, as it were, into the office of bishop he was quite equal intellectually and otherwise, to carry the duties of that office. As Bishop Williams put it, "The Church in this diocese needed then the very man whom God in His gracious goodness sent to it".

At the very outset of his administration he met with a bitter disappointment. He had taken up his residence in Hartford, and

presumably intended to make that his permanent home. His predecessor had lived in New Haven. Perhaps that was why he went to Hartford. In size it was only a little way behind New Haven, and with New Haven it shared the honor of being the "semi capital of Connecticut". One would think that New Haven, as the home of Yale College, and therefore an educational center, would have had its appeal to one whose life had been so largely academic. But to Hartford he went, and there the first two years of his life as bishop were lived. During those two years he served as rector of Christ Church, Hartford, in addition to his duties as bishop.

But now here was where his disappointment came in. The establishment of an institution for the training of candidates for the ministry had been agitated in the Church for some time, and finally in 1817, the General Convention took definite action and voted that such institution should be established, and that it should be located in New York City. Professor Brownell had had this matter much in his heart and mind, and he never ceased to be interested in the subject of theological education, as even a casual glance at his charges and sermons will show.

Before the Church took any action regarding the establishment of a theological school he was apparently thinking seriously about it, for a student<sup>2</sup> in Union College, who had been a pupil at the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, in writing to its principal, Dr. Tillotson Bronson, under date of September 16th, 1816, says: "Professor Brownell still continues desiring to have a theological school established in Schenectady—and he is willing to do all in his power to do it—He has been twice to N. York & has been sounding the clergy there—and they are all desirous to have it in the city—New York is not the place for it—I do wish & pray that it could be in Schenectady". That is of value to us, perhaps, only as it shows Professor Brownell's relation to the matter.

The school went to New York, but it did not thrive there. Dr. Samuel H. Turner, one of the professors, says in his autobiography,<sup>3</sup> "the leading men in the Church there, did not take much interest in it", and that Bishop Hobart "treated it with comparative indifference", and then he adds this illuminating comment, "it is not to be questioned that, with the great proportion of Churchmen in his diocese, his word and practice were equivalent to law". Of course its funds were very limited, and that contributed much to its languishment.

The General Convention of 1820 felt that something must be

<sup>2</sup>*Samuel Johnston. Ms. letters in the archives of the diocese.*

<sup>3</sup>*Pp. 86, 87.*

done. A committee appointed to consider the matter reported as follows:

"The committee are of opinion, that it is of great importance to the success of the institution, that it should be located in some place where the professors and students can have access to public libraries, enjoy the benefits resulting from literary society, and live comfortably at a moderate expense.

"Without detracting from the great advantages which the city of New York affords to students in the various departments of literature and science, the committee are of opinion that the city of New Haven offers inducements for the establishment of the theological school in that place (at least for the present, and while its funds are so limited) which ought not to be overlooked or disregarded".<sup>4</sup>

That was indeed flattering to New Haven. Well, the vote was taken, it was almost unanimous, and the seminary was transferred to New Haven, and reorganized on a somewhat different plan. It opened with ten students September 13th, 1820. Bishop Brownell was, of course, a trustee, as were all the bishops, and as it was now an institution within the confines of his diocese he felt a profound responsibility regarding it.

Consequently, in a letter dated November 11th, 1820, he wrote to the wardens and vestry of Christ Church, Hartford: "The establishment of the General Theological Seminary, has called upon me, by the duty which I owe to the church at large, to be near it during its infant state, that I may be the better able to render it such support and assistance as may not be incompatible with my permanent duties to the diocese". He forthwith moved to New Haven, and assumed his place on the teaching staff of the seminary. He gave instructions, which all the students attended, one day in each week, in the "department of pulpit eloquence, and the composition of sermons", and these instructions he gave gratuitously.

The seminary settled down to do its work amid the delightful advantages so graphically pictured in the committee's report, where the unmonied professors and impecunious students could "live comfortably at a moderate expense", and where the latter could cultivate "more moderate habits", when something happened which sent it scurrying back to New York. Almost in a moment, forgotten were the "strong objections" "in various parts of the Union" to its location in New York, forgotten were the attractions of New Haven, forgotten even the cultivation of more moderate habits among the students.

<sup>4</sup>*General Convention Journal for 1820, pp. 18, 19.*

The seminary while still in New York had had its "night before Christmas", when Clement C. Moore, Esq., donated "sixty lots of ground at Greenwich", and now came its Christmas Day, when Jacob Sherred, Esq., left a legacy in his will for the establishment by the General Convention in the State of New York, of a "college, academy, school or seminary, for the education of young men designed for holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America". To get that money the seminary must go back to New York. Who shall say it did not act wisely? It is an interesting but futile speculation as to what would have been its history had it remained in New Haven. And would the students have cultivated "more moderate habits" in that land of "steady habits"?

This removal of the seminary back to New York was a sore disappointment to Bishop Brownell. He was a teacher, and here was an opportunity for him to exercise that gift in a way which was particularly agreeable to him. In his convention address in 1822 he refers to the matter in no bitter way, but in such manner as to show the real feeling of his heart, if one but reads between the lines. He says:

"It is well known to you, that at the late special General Convention referred to, the Theological Seminary of our Church was transferred from this diocese to that of New York. This measure was adopted that the Institution might avail itself of a munificent bequest of the late Jacob Sherred, for the advancement of theological education; and it was acquiesced in by the delegation from this diocese, from considerations affecting the peace and unity of the Church. I have often expressed my sentiments concerning the importance of a general theological seminary. I trust its present location will have a tendency to harmonize all discordant opinions on this subject, and that as it is an object of paramount importance to the Church, so it will now receive its liberal and united patronage."<sup>5</sup>

And so the delegation from Connecticut acquiesced in this transfer from "considerations affecting the peace and unity of the Church". We may well believe that they did do at the earnest behest of their bishop. One writing of him says: "In his boyhood, the amiability and fondness for peace, which through life distinguished him, displayed themselves so strongly, that he became known as a peace-maker, and the boys of his acquaintance fastened upon him the sobriquet of 'Old Smoothing Plane' "<sup>6</sup> Well, a smoothing plane is much pleasanter than a rasp.

<sup>5</sup>*Connecticut Convention Journal for 1822, p. 9.*

<sup>6</sup>*Church Review for July, 1865, p. 269.*



In the archives of the diocese of Connecticut there is an amusing letter in the Rudd<sup>7</sup> correspondence bearing on this matter of the transfer back to New York of the seminary. It is from Bishop Croes who is writing to Dr. Rudd from New Brunswick, May 26, 1821.

" \* \* \* Dr Wharton<sup>8</sup> & Kemper<sup>9</sup> came here on Monday evening, on their way to N. Haven, after being tossed, & toted, and jambed, all the way from Borden town to South Amboy, where they found no 'Olive Branch', or other conveyance to N. Y. and hired a hack, to bring them as far as this. The Dr was so worn down, that he gave up the jaunt & returned home, leaving K. to go on, and by his eloquence, (for I fancy no one else was there, on his side) persuade the good people of Connecticut to consent to have the seminary taken from them, and carried back to New York. He must have had a high opinion of their pliability & condescension. The Dr came from home, all in the dark, and, for the first time, learned, while here, that he was on a wild goose chase. For Kemper could not withhold letting out, to the Dr's astonishment, that he *himself*, & Mr Boyd<sup>10</sup> *himself* & a certain friend of mine in New York, were the three persons who made the application to Bp. Brownell to call a meeting of the trustees. The Dr supposed it had originated at the seminary. He expressed his astonishment to me, and I soon shewed him, that his labour would be in vain, unless they could outvote the Connecticut trustees. I have not heard what was done. All this must be *inter nos*. The former Grand Master of the Lodge, is I am convinced at the bottom of all this.

"I shall in all probability set off for Newton, via N. Y. on the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> of June.

"I have such a toothache, I can scarcely write.

"Yours affectionately,

"John Croes."

Thus ever in the last analysis do we find even among the dignified doctors a trace of politics.

Keen as was Bishop Brownell's disappointment at the loss of the seminary from Connecticut, yet he was almost immediately to have his compensation. The churchmen of Connecticut had long been trying to get a charter for a college of their own. They had succeeded in establishing the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut at Cheshire, but they were anxious to enlarge its charter so that it could confer degrees. But all their petitions met the same fate.

<sup>7</sup>Rev. John C. Rudd.

<sup>8</sup>Rev. Charles H. Wharton.

<sup>9</sup>Rev. Jackson Kemper.

<sup>10</sup>Rev. George Boyd.

Now that the seminary was lost they redoubled their efforts. Under the new State constitution their chances were better, and in 1823 their efforts were rewarded by the granting of a charter for Washington College, now known as Trinity College,<sup>11</sup> to be located in Hartford. In the fall of 1824 the college opened. Bishop Brownell was chosen president. He removed to Hartford, and in that city he made his home for the rest of his life.

It was only inevitable that as the college grew the work of administration would become more exacting. And the diocese was growing also. The convention was becoming a bit restive under the necessity of sharing the bishop with the college, and in a resolution passed in 1831 it ventured to "express the earnest hope that he will devote his labors exclusively to the pastoral care of the diocese, as soon as a suitable gentleman can be provided to fill the office of president of the institution, and a competent support for the bishop shall have been provided by the diocese".

Of course the bishop, realizing the justness of the hope thus expressed, retired from the presidency of the college, and on December 16th, 1831, in the college chapel, delivered a farewell address<sup>12</sup> to the students of the college. The opening paragraph of that address may be given here as it so fully sets forth what had been the bishop's relation to the college.

"Young gentlemen: The time is at hand when I am to retire from the immediate charge of this Institution. It is an event which I cannot contemplate without some emotion. Having made the first movements for the establishment of the college: Having been engaged, with great solicitude, in all the measures for procuring its charter; for raising the funds for its endowment; for framing the laws for its organization and government;—having presided over the instruction and discipline which has been dispensed in it, from its origin to the present time, it is naturally to be expected that my feelings should be strongly identified with its interests and its prospects."

The General Convention of 1829 met in Philadelphia. Bishop Brownell preached the opening sermon from the text, "But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing",<sup>13</sup> and his subject was "Christian Zeal". He did not scatter his fire, but aimed at two "good things", in which he felt that it was good for his hearers "always to be zealously affected", and they were, "our Theological Seminary,

<sup>11</sup>*Name changed in 1845.*

<sup>12</sup>*Printed in pamphlet form.*

<sup>13</sup>*Galatians iv, 18.*

and our Society for Domestic and Foreign Missions". He never lost an opportunity to emphasize the matter of theological education.

That this sermon had its effect in shaping the events in the course of the bishop's life which immediately followed is evident. If he emphasized the importance of theological education, with equal force he stressed the importance of the missionary work of the Church. The directors of the Missionary Society had become thoroughly aware of the great spiritual needs of that vast field to the south and southwest, which was quite unshepherded so far as our Church was concerned. They wanted a bishop to go and visit that field. What more natural than that they should turn to Bishop Brownell?

He could go, perhaps, better than any of the other bishops. There were only eleven from which the choice could be made, and he was one of the youngest, only Bishops Henry U. Onderdonk and Meade being younger, and if the eloquent words of his convention sermon meant anything he had the zeal. And so the choice fell upon him, and on November 5th, 1829, he left Hartford on his contemplated tour, "amid such demonstrations of respect and affection from the officers and students of Washington College, and others of our citizens, as must have been to him truly grateful".

And these were his marching orders: "I was requested to undertake a visitation through the states lying west and south of the Alleghany mountains, 'to perform such episcopal offices as might be desired, to inquire into the condition of the missions established by the Board, and to take a general survey of the country, for the purpose of designating such other missionary stations as might be usefully established' ". The Rev. Francis L. Hawks was designated to be his companion and fellow-worker, but upon his withdrawal the Rev. William Richmond of New York was chosen in his place.

"The general direction of our tour," says the bishop in his report, "was from Philadelphia to Pittsburg; thence down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans; thence to Mobile; and from thence homeward, through Alabama, the Creek nation, and the Atlantic states. My episcopal duties were performed in the states of Kentucky, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama."

In the archives of the diocese of Connecticut is the manuscript journal of this missionary tour in the bishop's own handwriting. It is interesting to note that on the first page of this Journal, or the last, according to which end you begin to read, for it goes both ways, the bishop has written Dr. Cook's remedy for dyspepsia, which is a "cer-

tain cure in three months". How better could one taking a missionary journey arm himself than in that way?

That the bishop felt that the tour was in every way a success is evident from the closing words of his journal: "During a journey of about 6,000 miles, performed in four months and 9 days, I have been graciously preserved from every danger to which I may have been exposed. Nothing has occurred to mar the satisfaction of my journey, or to frustrate the benefits to be expected from it, and I have been permitted to join my family and friends again, under circumstances of the richest mercy. May I be suitably grateful for these unmerited favours, and may the great Head of the Church pour fourth abundant blessings on my unworthy labours."

Of course his labours were not "unworthy", but were of inestimable value in establishing the Church in that great field. The mere record of his official acts does not, perhaps, mean very much, but still it is interesting to note that he administered the sacrament of baptism to twelve adults and twenty-two children, confirmed one hundred and forty-two persons, consecrated six churches, and admitted one person to the holy order of the priesthood. He helped very materially in the organization of the dioceses of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. This journey of the bishop in 1829 forms an important chapter in the history of our early missionary endeavor.

In the fall of 1834 he went over some of the ground he had covered in his former journey, but not as the representative of the Missionary Society. This time he went at the request of the wardens and vestry of the parish at New Orleans, and also "with a view to the benefit of Mrs. Brownell's health". When he arrived at New Orleans he found the parish "much depressed and discouraged". They were in difficulties regarding the location of the new church, which it was imperative that they should have, they had no rector, they had no bishop. But he was able to write in his journal, "Before my departure, I had the satisfaction of seeing all these objects in a fair way of accomplishment, through the blessing of Divine Providence", and might not one add with the utmost respect and reverence, through the blessing of "Old Smoothing Plane"?

New Orleans seemed to like the bishop, for when their new church was completed they wanted him to consecrate it, and so in the fall of 1836 he made another journey to New Orleans, and this time he was absent from his diocese for five months. Connecticut then had about sixty-five congregations. It now has two hundred and seventeen places of worship.

The remaining years of Bishop Brownell's episcopate were years



of steady quiet growth. Indeed his whole episcopate was one of steady growth. Perhaps a few figures at this point may not be amiss as showing that. The census of 1820, the year following the bishop's accession to office, gives the population of the State as 275,248. The communicants of the Episcopal Church, as near as can be determined, were 2,674, that is, about one to every one hundred of the population.

Passing on to the year 1850, the year prior to the election of Dr. Williams as coadjutor, we find that the population of the State has increased to 370,792, while the communicants of the Church have increased to 9,360, that is, about one to every forty of the population. At the time of his death in 1865 there was practically no change in the ratio of growth. The figures to-day would show that the Episcopal Church has grown with the growth of the State, the ratio being about one in twenty-nine, but the disquieting feature of it is that it tends to remain static, as there has been very little change in the last few years.

Bishop Brownell does not seem to have become unduly excited, perhaps not excited at all, over the Tractarian movement. His own faith in, and loyalty to, the Church which he loved and served were too deeply rooted to be whipped about by any passing winds of emotion. In his convention address for 1850, he says with as much heat, perhaps, as his kindly soul could fan into flame, "What we most deprecate, is the treachery of perverting the doctrines of the Church, or the teaching of dogmas alien to her faith, while ministering at her altars. And this treachery is equally to be censured, in whatever direction the false teaching may tend;—whether to the superstitions of Romanism, or to the coldness and baldness of Rationalism". There speaks the man with a most exalted sense of loyalty to his ordination promises.

In his convention address for 1845 he had spoken of his bodily infirmities, frankly admitting that they were of a permanent character, and suggesting that the diocese might feel that for the better administration of its affairs it might desire to give him an assistant. That would be satisfactory to him, and yet "whatever measure of health and strength may be vouchsafed to me by Divine Providence, I shall cheerfully devote to the service of the Church", if the diocese does not see its way to elect an assistant bishop. But it was not until June 11th, 1851, that the diocese gave him the help he needed, when it elected the Rev. John Williams, D. D., assistant bishop. At the time of his election Dr. Williams was president of Trinity College.

Upon the death in 1852 of Bishop Philander Chase of Illinois, Bishop Brownell became the Presiding Bishop. Until recent years it was the senior bishop in point of service who held that office. One

referring to Bishop Brownell as Presiding Bishop very kindly says, "If the infirmities of age prevented him from being very active in that position, he had no unfortunate mistakes to mourn over, when he surrendered it at death into other hands".

Bishop Brownell did not leave behind much of a literary nature, and that is unfortunate because he wrote well. His Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer is, perhaps, his most pretentious work, and in its day served a useful purpose, and no doubt could serve a useful purpose to-day, if it were ever consulted. In his preface he says that "he is persuaded that many who habitually use the Book of Common Prayer, have a very imperfect apprehension of the full import of its several offices and catch but a faint inspiration from the spirit of piety which animates them". Well, probably the bishop's persuasion was well-founded. It might even have some significance today.

He left several other things of varying importance, but his charges and addresses to the clergy, a number of which were published, are fine examples of what such things should be, forceful but kindly, wise but understandable, "in a style of simple elegance and classic purity", to employ a phrase which is certainly full of dignity.

In this connection one may quote a passage from Dr. Harry Croswell's diary, which, while it illustrates the "unaffected humility" of Dr. Croswell, also has its significance as regards the bishop. It is the entry for March 29, 1822. "The bishop called towards evening, with a prospectus for his Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer—wishing me to look it over and correct it! It is really a great trial to my feelings to have such a thing occur; but I endeavored not to discover anything of the kind. I took the manuscript, and actually suggested two or three verbal alterations, which the bishop readily adopted".<sup>14</sup>

The last decade of the bishop's life were days of weakened and steadily weakening powers. He could not do much, nor did he attempt to do much; a few duties in Hartford, and fewer outside. He died January 13th, 1865, three months before the close of that fratricidal war which had menaced the solidarity of the nation and of the Church, and which, so far as his failing powers permitted him to grasp it all, must have lacerated his gentle, sensitive soul.

Bishop Kerfoot,<sup>15</sup> at the time president of Trinity College, in a letter to Bishop Whittingham<sup>16</sup> gives an interesting account of Bishop Brownell's last moments, which may well find a place here. He says:

<sup>14</sup>F. B. Dexter, *Historical Papers*, p. 354.

<sup>15</sup>John B. Kerfoot, first Bishop of Pittsburgh.

<sup>16</sup>William R. Whittingham, Bishop of Maryland.

"Bishop Brownell is passing away. Early this week signs of failing strength set in, and now he may go any hour or day: he may last some days. He has no pain, but life is going out. I have seen him not seldom since I came. He has been very cordial, and he and Mrs. B. make a beautiful picture of aged married life. She came down to see me last evening when I called, and told me of the bishop's strong expressions yesterday about the college and its present prospects. Bishop Williams is with Bishop B., and gave him what we (Bishop B. and all) thought would be his last Communion. He was sitting up to receive it, and rose and stood erect in the Gloria Excelsis. The doctors say he cannot rally".<sup>17</sup>

And thus the good bishop, with the tide of life fast ebbing, still thinks of the college so dear to his heart, and of which he could truthfully say, "a great part of which I was". His own college, Union, honored him with the degree of S. T. D. in 1819, as did also Columbia in that same year, and from some source, apparently not known, he received the degree of LL. D.

If a monument to Bishop Brownell were anywhere to be set up where would be a more fitting place than the campus of Trinity College? On November 11th, 1869, with appropriate ceremonies a noble statue was unveiled, the gift of Gordon W. Burnham, the bishop's son-in-law. At that time the buildings of the college stood where now stands the State Capitol. Upon the removal of the college to its present beautiful site, the statue was removed, and placed in the center of the spacious new campus.

And there to-day stands on its lofty granite pedestal the majestic bronze figure of the bishop, "presenting with life-like fidelity the features of him whom it commemorates". The right arm is outstretched in blessing, the while he watches over his beloved college; the left hand grasps the Prayer Book which he presses to his side, the rich treasures of which, by spoken word and printed page, he sought to teach to men. About it all there is a strength which well befits the character of the man.

As we know, a certain allowance must be made for the generous and gracious things said of a man after his death, but when such allowance has been made in the case of Bishop Brownell, there still remains the noble figure of a noble man and bishop, who had a "wonderful serenity of temper; a judgment that was rarely at fault; a moral character without spot or stain, and a religion calm, equable, real, and sincere". This then is the story of the third bishop of Connecticut, THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL.

<sup>17</sup>*Life of Bishop Kerfoot, Vol. II, p. 382.*

## THE CHURCH IN NEVADA

*By Thomas Jenkins*

THE "Great American Desert" has disappeared from the maps of our school geographies; but giving the desert other names has not changed its character. While there are many oases of well watered valleys, and much hidden wealth in its abounding hills and mountains, it is still desert.

Until 1822 Nevada was part of the Spanish domain. The Mexican revolt of that year resulted in the establishment of a republic, which continued for 26 years, or until, in 1848, our war with that country brought under the American flag the area now embraced by California, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming.

In 1850 Congress fixed the bounds of the Utah Territory, which included what is now Nevada. By the division of this vast territory in 1861 Nevada came into existence as a separate political entity. But this dependent existence as a Territory was short-lived. Political urgency in 1864 required another State to secure the adoption of the 13th amendment to the Constitution concerning slavery. "The population at the census of 1860 was only 6,857. \* \* \* When the route for the Central Pacific Railroad was surveyed in 1862 only 17 settlers were found between the present city of Reno and Great Salt Lake, a distance of 425 miles." ("Silver White"—Bishop Hunting.) Such is political contingency!

The area of Nevada is approximately 110,000 square miles with about 100,000 inhabitants—being the 6th state in the Union in size and the smallest in population. And as it has always been, so it is likely to continue. By the very nature of the land no human eye can envisage a large population or the growth of industrial areas. Once a part of the great Lake Lahontan, known as the Great Basin, its waters are reduced now to a few residual lakes 500 feet below its highest level.

The two principal occupations are mining and sheep and cattle raising, which, being at the producing end of industry do not require large cities or even sizable towns, as such are known in manufacturing areas. This constitutes one of the factors determining the character of our missionary enterprises.



The population is not only sparse but very broadly scattered in very small communities over the whole State. It should be borne in mind in evaluating Nevada as a missionary project that a small town of a few hundred people on the desert is as significant as one of many thousands in a manufacturing area. The raising of wool and hides and beef and mutton is quite simple and requires few hands in comparison with the complex task and the army of workers required in preparing those articles for the world's markets.

And it must be of interest to learn that this handful of people scattered over an area larger than the combined areas of Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware and the District of Columbia support "One state government, university, state prison, state orphans' home, industrial school, hospital for mental diseases, 17 county governments, 17 hospitals for aged and indigent, 12 city governments, approximately 37 high schools and approximately 251 elementary schools,—all of which support is a heavy financial burden."

The occupancy of this Nevada desert country was due to the back-wash of the gold rush to California. The discovery of the Comstock Lode in 1859 led to the influx of a great swarm of prospective wealth seekers, and their followers. The romance of the Comstock has been well told elsewhere,—“The Big Bonanza” being perhaps the best known account of that easy wealth and those hectic days. It has been said many times by voice and pen that it was the Comstock that built San Francisco. True it is that some of the old city buildings still bear the names of Nevada's pioneers. Many fortunes have been made in Nevada; but it is remarkable and sad to relate that not a bit of welfare work in the state—religious or otherwise—has ever benefitted by that wealth. Outside the gifts of the Mackay family to the state university none have seemingly appreciated the pit from which their family fortunes were digged.

For California, Nevada is a bridge of considerable importance, across which great quantities of its imports and exports pass. Besides this, Nevada itself contributed its increment of wealth and population to its enrichment.

Bishop Whitaker saw 40,000 people residing on that mountain-side and in the valley leading to Virginia City, to minister to whom he had two self-supporting parishes and two dependent chapels. The present bishop would do well to find 1,500 people in the same area today. But he has, just the same, three of the churches to care for, all of which require missionary help, and all being larger than the present population requires. Their preservation, not to speak of the

use of such buildings, constitutes a baffling problem in some of our older communities.

A striking change has taken place in the mining country. Where once thousands of hands were required to develop properties and produce precious metals, now scarcely hundreds are needed. With improved mechanical aids, more powerful explosives, electrical power and wholly new methods of extracting metals, large communities have been reduced to skeletons, even where production has been continuous.

Another notable change has been in the character of the mining population. During the whole of Bishop Whitaker's episcopate the people came from the East where, for the most part, they had grown up in a religious environment and so possessed a religious background. This is seen in the organization of the early churches, which from the start became parishes, organized and incorporated, electing their own rectors and paying their own way. There is on record the case of a parish returning to the American Church Missionary Society the salary of a priest who had come out under its auspices.

It is not so now. The miner today is a western product. Too often he has no religious background to which to appeal, therefore no ready instinct with which to respond to a religious truth. During my thirty years in the north and the west I have witnessed that change take place. The method of approach must now be different. No longer does a missionary bishop, at least in Nevada, find presidents and stockholders and officers of mining companies eager to see houses of worship in their camps; rather on the contrary he too frequently finds them totally indifferent, if not hostile, to religious undertakings.

To make clearer some things to be said as we unfold the story of the Church in Nevada, attention must be directed to one of the signal failures of the national Church in the conduct of its missionary task. All through the old registers and in the reports of the bishops and in the laments and discouragements of the congregations runs the same strain of disappointment, of high hopes beaten back, of splendid purposes thwarted and plans defeated. And all because the Church failed to see the plain matter of fact need of men specially trained for this specially difficult ministry. Of all the substantial American religious communities the Episcopal Church has been alone in trusting to the chance of getting the right type of eastern men to volunteer for western work. All others have provided training centers in the West for the ministry of the West. What other factor can account for the steady and rapid turn-over in clergy staffs? And the process is still going on, though with less acceleration, perhaps, than for-

merly. In consulting the records it has been a frequent experience to discover a new priest in a congregation each year; and not an infrequent one to find that some stayed only a few months.

As far as my investigation has gone I have discovered only two priests, the Rev. S. C. Blackiston and the Rev. Dr. Unsworth, beside Bishop Whitaker himself, staying in the district as long as five years. And that was the experience all over the west in earlier days.

Beyond peradventure, the absence of Church colleges and divinity schools will alone account for the paucity of candidates for the ministry from our western missionary field. As it was then so it is now. There is no record of Bishop Whitaker ever ordaining anyone in Nevada during the 17 years of his episcopate. It is not that the Church lacks theological seminaries. Of these she has abundance, if only they were strategically located. It would still be a missionary venture of the highest order for someone of those seminaries to volunteer to move into our inter-mountain area for the sole purpose of training western men for western work.

Of Nevada as of the remainder of the western field, the missionary enterprise has cost all out of proportion to statistical results. To one cause I have made allusion, that of depending upon volunteer priests from the eastern dioceses for the prosecution of the task. The other, I cannot help but believe, has lain in the weakness of our challenge. For the most part we have encouraged and depended upon married clergy. Rome would never have emblazoned the names of saints and her heroic missionaries on American cities and states had she relied on family priests to do her pioneering. Family priests require family wages, and labor under the demands of family life. It has been for us a costly undertaking.

In turning over Nevada to Bishop Leonard, Bishop Whitaker wrote in a letter, which I recently discovered in Salt Lake City, that it would be useless for the new bishop to look for any record of meetings, convocations and the like, because he had never held any. He had attempted one to his own cost and the cost of the work, one priest having travelled four days by stage and one day by train, bringing with him his wife and three children. And for this who could blame him? Certainly the wife needed a change as much as the husband.

Perhaps a contrast in figures may suggest a picture of this and the advantage of a changed policy. In 1928 when the present bishop took over the district there were seven priests, one deaconess and two automobiles in service, using considerably more for their support than is now used for the support of 21 workers and 18 automobiles.

The present policy is to use several deaconesses and at least half of the clergy staff unmarried, with the result that twice the amount of work is now being done for much less money. As a matter of record the Church is ministering in more places in the state than any other body.

With this background a more detailed story of the work may be told, perhaps with better understanding.

### BISHOPS.

The name of the first bishop of Nevada deserves to be better known. Short as his episcopate was in the west it was significant, for his very large territory alone. Elected in 1859, Joseph Cruickshank Talbot was consecrated February 15, 1860, in Indianapolis by Bishops Kemper, Hawks, Upfold, and Bedell, in Christ Church which he had built and of which he had been rector. He soon began a primary exploration of his vast field, which began with Nebraska and ended at the Sierra mountains on the border of California. It included Nebraska, South Dakota, Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and Nevada. In 1862 he writes "that after two years and six months I have not been able to reach Nevada and others are occupying the field. Nevada should have a bishop of its own."

In October, 1860, he writes: "Already an earnest interest is awakened in behalf of a more distant part of the field, and the means are in part furnished for the establishment of a mission in the territory of Utah. The only point in that territory which I am prepared to designate as missionary ground is the silver mining region. There an intelligent and rapidly increasing population is gathering in; most of them are from California, and many of them of our Communion. A highly intelligent and earnest presbyter of California, in a letter which I have recently received, strongly advocates the claims of the Washoe mining region to the early attention of the Church. No denomination of Christians is there before us; but ten thousand human souls are there, presenting one of the most favorable openings for the Church to be found anywhere in the great West. Who will go? Who will provide for his support? The true missionary spirit, the warm, loving, earnest missionary heart, is what we want; and if we faithfully do our part, who can doubt that 'God, even our own God, will give us His blessing,' and the vast moral desert of the West 'rejoice and blossom as the rose!'"

October, 1861: "Since I last wrote I have received another letter from the far West, urging upon me the necessity for the early settlement of a clergyman in Nevada Territory. At the Washoe mines a large population is gathering, among them many members of the Church. Cannot the Committee



do something for Nevada? I ought to have one clergyman there at once, and though the committee is likely to be at a loss for means, I must urge them, if possible, to make an appropriation for his support. It will be a great blunder if we allow this most favorable opportunity for establishing the Church there to pass. Can you help me? I earnestly desire to see the work there commenced immediately. The ground is ours if we choose to go in and possess it. A few months more and we shall have lost what we can never recover."

Again the same month he writes: "Already in Carson Valley, the reported population is fifteen thousand souls. Not a missionary of the Church is there. I have received urgent letters asking the establishment of at least one mission among them, and have assurances that a missionary adapted to the work will never want for large congregations, while he will labor in a field which certainly presents a prospect of great usefulness in the cause of Christ and His Church.

"We should have sent a missionary there more than a year ago. Then we should for once have been first in the field. Still, however, there is a wide and open door. Can we not enter in and work for Christ? Ought we not at whatever cost, either of personal sacrifice or money, embrace the opportunity which the providence of God is here affording us? Can we hope that we love the Gospel, or the Church, while we refrain from putting forth our best efforts to plant them in so promising a field? I respectfully and earnestly urge upon the Board and its Domestic Committee the necessity of immediately sending at least one missionary to Nevada. Meanwhile, a licensed lay reader, a zealous communicant of the Church, will do what he can to sustain services in one of the principal towns in Carson Valley."

Fortunately a portion, at least, of his diary has been preserved, and a thrilling and illuminating one it is. The original is now in the possession of a nephew, Mr. Hewitt Talbot of Indianapolis; a copy of which has been placed in my hands for information. Those portions of the diary which recorded the work the bishop did in Nebraska, Colorado, and New Mexico, etc., have been sent to the respective bishops of those regions.

It has been Nevada's good fortune of late to receive from the bishop's niece, Mrs. Arthur Bothby, an oil portrait of the bishop, which now hangs in the Bishop Robinson Memorial chapel in the Bishop's House in Reno. With it in the same chapel hang an oil painting of Bishop Robinson and portraits of Bishops Whitaker, Leonard and Hunting.

Bishop Talbot on his westward journey planted the Church in many communities, notably in Nebraska, Dacotah (described at General

Convention in 1859 as a barren waste), Colorado, New Mexico and Nevada.

Bishop Talbot's missionary episcopate was destined to last only a few years. In 1866 he was elected assisted bishop of Indiana which he accepted. And in 1866 Nevada began its first experience, which was to be repeated several times in the next 60 years, of being watched over by or attached to a neighboring bishop, who was supposed to act as a beneficent but very-much-absent father-in-law.

*Bishop Kip:* From 1866 to 1869 Bishop Kip of California, as though he had not enough to do in his own 140,000 square miles, was asked to take supervision of Nevada. This he did, conducting 13 services, confirming 48 persons and consecrating St. John's Church, Gold Hill. In 1867 the record shows that he confirmed 24 persons at Virginia City and 12 at Carson City.

*Bishop Whitaker:* In 1869 three priests were chosen for the episcopate in Nevada. The Rev. R. J. Parvin was elected by the House of Bishops but was not confirmed by the House of Deputies. The Rev. M. A. DeWolfe Howe was then elected but declined. It was then remembered that a young priest of Englewood, N. J., by the name of Whitaker had gained some missionary recognition by the period of service he had already rendered in Nevada. Consequently, in 1869 he was elected, confirmed and consecrated and served till 1886, when he was elected assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania. His election to Nevada was a blessed event for the state. Perhaps no man ever spent twenty years in the state who was so graciously and generously accepted or whose memory remains so fragrant as that of Bishop Whitaker. There are still living many whom he baptized, upon whom he laid his hands in confirmation, who talk of his gentleness and kindness and patience. Nevada in 1869 carried Arizona with it.

In reporting to the House of Bishops in Davenport in 1934 on missionary districts the chairman of the commission said in reviewing certain possible combination of districts that "In the words of the present bishop, Nevada has been a hand-ball of the Church long enough. The Committee therefore has nothing to offer regarding Nevada except that it be given lease to work out its own salvation."

A mere study of statistics, vital and financial, would, I am confident, show how greatly the Church has lost ground by combining districts and asking bishops to do more than a day's work. Few bishops have lived out a long life in the western missionary field. The list would be a long one. Of Nevada's four, three died just turned fifty years of age, and the other was translated at about the same age.

*Bishop Leonard:* The Rev. Abiel Leonard was elected and consecrated in 1887 to be bishop of Utah, Nevada and Western Colorado. The correspondence of Bishop Leonard, as preserved in the Bishop Tuttle House in Salt Lake City, written most of it in long hand and duplicated for the files, is a monument of diligence and care. And then to think of the mode of travel in those days only enhances one's admiration for his unswerving faithfulness, and untiring devotion to his task. Journeys which took him six days to do can now be accomplished in two days and at a correspondingly smaller outlay.

*Bishop Robinson:* Following Bishop Leonard's untimely death in 1903, the General Convention, acting Solomon-like, proceeded to cut the infant in two; and there was no one to forbid the operation. For five years Nevada was divided between the district of Salt Lake under Bishop Spalding, and Sacramento under Bishop Moreland. This arrangement however lasted only until 1907 when the Rev. Dr. Henry Robinson, distinguished schoolmaster and warden of Racine College, Wisconsin, was elected. The bishop stood it only five years. It was, as Bishop White of Michigan City said, "the spoiling of a great schoolmaster to make a bishop who could never be more than mediocre in a place like Nevada." It killed him all too soon.

Bishop Robinson was a handsome man, as his portrait shows. He was a gentleman in every way—refined in taste, cultured in manner, choice in dress and appearance. And there was Nevada—rough, uncouth, coarse, lawless. Not that Nevada lacked other qualities, but, like sore spots, these surface ones protruded.

*Bishop Hunting:* This was in 1913, and in 1914 at a meeting of the House of Bishops in Minneapolis the Rev. George Coolidge Hunting, born and educated in the East, but having spent all his ministry in the West, was consecrated bishop of Nevada. The consecration took place in Salt Lake City, one of the earliest and one of the few consecrations to take place in a western missionary district. Bishop Hunting's episcopate was notable in the extension of the Church's work and the revived consciousness of the Church's presence and mission.

Because of the absence of a resident bishop at the time the agricultural valleys were opened to occupation, the Church failed to enter them with her ministry. Bishop Hunting saw that as long as water runs from the snows of the Sierras and Rubys these valleys will all have abiding and prospering populations; while mining communities, prosperous while precious metals can be produced, will fade away to ghostly forms, leaving homes and churches to go into decay. He began therefore to acquire property in certain of these areas with the expectation of building chapels as opportunity and means should afford.

In the Fallon district he was able to open work and erect a set of buildings quite adequate to the need. This today is not only one of our more promising missions but the best piece of rural work to date.

The modern mission plant is very different from those built by the early pioneering bishops. The thought then was a church, and a worthy one at that. Hence the splendid buildings at Virginia City, Austin and Eureka. No thought was given to the social needs of the congregation. The parish house era had not arrived, or had not reached the West.

These old churches, built for larger congregations than now exist are a source of anxiety and care. Shall they be preserved? If so, for what purpose? and by whom? With a church seating 400 and with not more than 14 left to use it the question of maintenance becomes serious. In Bishop Hunting's day this problem had not become as acute as it is now. Indeed to have been told when he was rector of Virginia City that within 25 years the parish would be defunct and the buildings in decay would have seemed to him incredible.

Some three years ago a policy was adopted which commits the district in the expansion of its work to agricultural and ranching communities. This seems wise if the Church is to root itself in the soil of the State.

Bishop Hunting had been well trained for the work of a bishop in a field such as Nevada. All his ministry had been spent in Utah and Nevada, except for the short period when he was field secretary of the Eighth Missionary Department, now the Province of the Pacific. He was physically strong and vigorous and equally morally courageous. Nothing daunted him. He was what every bishop might presumably aspire to be, that of a general missionary as well as episcopal administrator. He got to know the State and the State got to know him. He led reform movements in the same determined way that he dealt with disloyal and recalcitrant clergy, of which he had a full share. Restless drifters they were, of which the western mission field had entirely too many. Now, with the decadence of the old western romance, their kind has nearly disappeared, and none too soon.

Not alone did the bishop acquire sites in nearly every community—some of which are still unused—but he inaugurated a building program such as the district had not heretofore known. But sad to relate he was taken away in the very early stages of its development. Strong and robust as he was, and immune to fatigue and exhaustion, as many thought, he succumbed to dread pneumonia after only a few days' illness. His strenuous going, the high altitude, the constant anxiety about men and means, the burden of the State's moral standards, and the uncer-



tain support in all these of the people who should have sustained his leadership, reduced his resistance and hurried the end. In him Nevada lost a stalwart, single-minded citizen, and the Church an undaunted champion of righteousness and an all-too-rare missionary leader.

For five years again the Church reverted to its policy of trying to save money and souls at the same time. But it is written in the missionary experience of the Church that this cannot be done. The Church which would save its money must inevitably lose souls whose task it is to redeem. It is just unthinkable possible for one man to have enough time left over from the care of a field so extensive and baffling as Utah to look after another district still larger, with problems different in form but equally resistant.

The advocates of this policy simply do not understand the field, or they lack in their conception of what a missionary bishop should be and do. And themselves, perhaps, being bishops of strong small compact dioceses, who can sleep in their own beds every night, so far as diocesan claims go, and can have competent helpers and efficient organization, just mildly wonder why a missionary bishop, with fewer congregations and fellow-clergy, should not be able to take on another district or two when General Convention so decrees. Bishop Abiel Leonard did it and died in the attempt. It is possible to elect a swivel-chair bishop who could run all the districts of this Province, and sometimes such men have been elected both to diocese and district, but always to the neglect of hungering souls and reduction and shrinkage of the Church's centers of work—not to speak of the disregard of the children who refuse not to be born and grow up—but how? It was Bishop Spalding of Utah, than whom the West has had no finer missionary statesman, who declared "a bishop once a year is not enough".

The seven clergy left in the district in 1928 and the faithful lay people, as far as their voice could be heard, resolved to petition General Convention meeting that year for a bishop of their own. It must have been a little compensation to the bishop of Utah, to whom the impossible task had been for five years assigned, to know that the petition expressed the hope that he himself might be willing to accept translation to Nevada. As successor to his administration I can testify to the affectionate devotion he elicited wherever he went in the district. Nevada would have been happy had their desire been granted.

Instead, at the General Convention in Washington in 1928, the Rev. Frederick Goodwin of Virginia, well known for his work in the rural field, was elected by the bishops and confirmed by the

House of Deputies. But before convention adjourned he declined, on the ground, as he stated, "because he thought it was a western task for which he had had no particular training, and for which a western man who knew the field might easily be found".

*Bishop Jenkins:* In the subsequent election the Rev. Thomas Jenkins, general missionary in the diocese of Oregon, was chosen by the bishops and confirmed by the deputies. He accepted, and on St. Paul's Day in 1929 was consecrated in Trinity Church, Portland, Oregon, by the Most Rev. John G. Murray, Bishop Sumner of Oregon and Bishop Moulton of Utah; with whom were associated the bishops of Alaska, San Joaquin, Idaho, Tohoku, Olympia, Spokane, the archbishop of New Westminster, and the bishops of Victoria and Caribou. He immediately entered upon his task, arriving in Reno on January 30th.

The bishop of Utah was most helpful in every way in acquainting him with the conditions then prevailing in the state. With accounts all audited and records all brought up to date there was never any occasion to question or doubt. One important thing, however, which was lacking, and apparently had never had attention, was an inventory of properties and equipment. Even after nine years deeds to some properties have not been discovered and this is not to be wondered at when one remembers by how many bishops Nevada has been administered. Only recently an old deed to Nevada property was discovered in the Bishop Tuttle house in Salt Lake City.

It was Bishops Murray and Sumner and Rowe who at the after-consecration luncheon expressed the sentiment that the new bishop had had long training for his new task. The new bishop could only add that it was under the two latter that he had received most of that training. Whether a different method of missionary enterprise, under this new leadership, shall prove more fruitful than some past methods remains to be seen. It seemed plain, however, to the new bishop that no parish like Trinity, Reno, should be receiving aid, and no priest, except one working solely among Indians or in the educational field should be receiving all his stipend from the district treasury, without turning something in from his field. In his address at the first convocation at Carson City he stated that the congregations must understand that missionary aid should never be allowed to become a substitute for local giving, and that the policy of the district in giving assistance would henceforth be based on that principle. That it has been a prudent and profitable policy may be seen in the enlarged activity, additional mission stations, new buildings, increased support, and the trebled number of workers.

A parish that spends \$50,000 on itself with 3 clergy, 3 women workers, 3 automobiles, and 3 buildings to maintain and insure, may wonder how Nevada on a similar amount maintains and insures 20 workers, 18 automobiles, and 40 buildings. Nevada's staff covers at least 150,000 miles a year, and all its debts do not exceed \$10,000.

The present administration took up the task in January, 1929. Some missions closed since Bishop Hunting's death were at once reopened, others long and frequently neglected restored and ministered to, vacancies filled and new work undertaken. Years had gone by since any repairs had been made or buildings painted.

#### PARISHES AND MISSIONS.

In the early days under Bishop Whitaker few congregations were organized which could not at once become self-supporting. There being little but haphazard missionary giving on the part of the Church a missionary bishop had no assured budget on which to plan his program and carry on his work. Then there were few occupations in the state beside mining, and mining in those days required many more hands than it does today. A camp became a community all at once, as it were. And in contrast with conditions today the incoming tide was from the eastern states where religion gave a background to people's lives. Many church people were among the newcomers and they wanted a house of God. We have, therefore, the early building of churches, some of which were worthy of any community in any part of the country.

The first church to be built was St. Paul's, Virginia City. The Rev. H. Sweatman was the first priest to hold services there in 1861; and under him the parish was founded. Davis' History records that "Mr. Sweatman came into the Territory on business and was persuaded to hold services on September 1st, 1861". Two years later, March 4, 1863, he was killed by Indians in Humboldt County. The first service was held in the U. S. Court House. In 1862 the Rev. Franklin S. Rising was sent by the American Church Missionary Society and stayed until 1866. It took him 49 days to make the journey from New York to Virginia City by way of Panama. In 1862 a church costing \$30,000 was built, and on October 11th, 1863, Bishop Talbot consecrated it, assisted by the rector and the Rev. Ozi W. Whitaker. The first Sunday School was started May 11th, 1862, and later under Mrs. Whitaker had 400 children in it. The first confirmation in it was held by Bishop Talbot in 1863.

In 1875 Ah For, a Chinese convert, collected \$700 and with the aid of Bishop Whitaker, built chapels both at Virginia City and Carson City. And while he was building he also translated the Order of Evening Prayer into Chinese. In the same year the great fire occurred which destroyed both St. Paul's Church and the Chinese Mission. The latter was never rebuilt. Ah For, later on, returned to China to work in the Anglican Mission there.

On November 15, 1875, Bishop Whitaker wrote: "Since my last report was made to the Board of Missions a heavy blow has fallen on our Church in Nevada. In the terrible fire which swept over Virginia City on October 26th, St. Paul's Church and Rectory with nearly all their contents, were destroyed. By this calamity eight thousand people were made homeless and property worth ten million dollars was consumed. Two-thirds of the congregation of St. Paul's were burned out and many of them left penniless. The insurance upon the Church property is about one-half the value. But for the losses caused by the fire, the deficiency could be made up by the congregation; but it cannot be done now. The Chinese Chapel in Virginia was also destroyed, with the whole Chinese quarter of the city. On this there was no insurance. Ah For, the Chinese Missionary, was doing a good work in connection with this Chapel, and I sympathize deeply with him in its loss. I hope that by and by we shall be able to rebuild it. But neither the Chinamen nor the congregation of St. Paul's can do anything towards it now. Following the fire came a fearful storm of wind and rain and snow which has continued for ten days, and has not yet abated. On Saturday night, the 13th of October, the church in Silver City, which was in process of erection, and was to have been finished before Christmas, was demolished by the violence of the storm. It lies prostrate, broken and shattered. Both these Churches must be rebuilt, and I believe, will be, speedily. God has not forsaken us, nor will He forsake us, in this our hour of trial. Whatever He may dispose any of His servants to do for us in the work of rebuilding, will be most gratefully received and faithfully used."

St. Paul's, the present edifice, was rebuilt in 1876, at a cost of \$25,000, and is 10 feet longer and 2 feet wider than the former church. In 1865 under the Rev. Franklin Rising, St. Paul's conducted a parochial day-school, which for want of funds was closed after a year's existence.

In 1869, the year of Bishop Whitaker's consecration, Nevada had 1 priest, 3 churches, 2 rectories, 100 communicants and 320 school



children. In 1880 property valued at \$125,000 was reported, and there were now 7 priests, 10 churches, 8 rectories, 340 communicants and 1,240 school children. During all the 17 years of Bishop Whitaker's episcopate he was rector of St. Paul's Parish, having most of the time at least one assistant. Among those associates was the Rev. Dr. L. B. Ridgely, who left there for 40 years' fruitful labor in China. (He now lives in San Francisco and is active as canon at Grace Cathedral.)

Though Bishop Whitaker left no connected journal of his activities outside of parish registers one picks up many interesting items of his experiences. Among these were the perversion of the Rev. Johnston McCormac to the Reformed Episcopal Church—and of the Rev. G. F. Fitch to the Methodists.

One should read the "Big Bonanza" and "Roughing It" by Mark Twain, for the glamor of Virginia City. A typical story of frontier justice is that told in "The Comstock Lode": A drunken man sued the city for defective sidewalks. The judge ruled that "A drunken man is entitled to good sidewalks and needs them a great deal more".

*St. John's, Gold Hill*, adjoining Virginia City, was started in 1862 with a Sunday school of 5 children. Service was held in a theatre, but gambling making the place too noisy, the service was transferred to the schoolhouse. The parish was organized on St. Peter's Day, 1862, the Rev. Franklin Rising elected rector. Resigning in 1863 the Rev. Ozi Whitaker was elected to succeed him. In December, 1869, the Church was sold by the sheriff for debt, and later, within the legal time of six months, was redeemed. In 1886 the same church was abandoned, being sold to a man who converted it into a saloon! For some years the Rev. Dr. Lathrop, the father of the late revered Dean Lathrop, was its rector. In the place of the brick church a frame building was erected, which, when the camp went down, was moved by Bishop Hunting to Dayton, where it now stands.

*St. Peter's, Carson City*, the State Capital, was started in 1862 with service by the Rev. Mr. Rising in the courthouse. (Mr. Rising left the Territory in 1866 on account of his southern sympathies.) The parish was organized by the Rev. Mr. Reilly in 1863, under Bishop Talbot, the church built in 1867, and consecrated by Bishop Whitaker in 1870. Its first cost was \$5,500. In 1874 it was enlarged by the erection of the hall across the chancel end of the church, at a cost of \$12,000. St. Peter's is still the best looking and best equipped church in the district. In 1881 the parish reported 60 communicants and 100 children in its school. In 1891 a rectory was purchased, also a new pipe organ for the church. In 1881 the much

cracked bell was recast in the shops of the Virginia and Truckee Railroad. After its rehangng the local paper was moved to publish the following:

“And after the hanging  
Its regular clanging  
Will bid the worshippers bend the knee.  
In spire of St. Peter  
'Twill sound the sweeter  
Than in the shops of the V. and T.”

In 1869 the state legislature invited the rector, the Rev. Mr. Allen, to preach before the joint houses in the assembly chamber. Whether the sermon was too short—it was over by eight o'clock—or too pointed no one knows, but suffice to say no one has ever been requested to preach before that august body since. He took as his text “The eyes of the wise man are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness” (Ecc. 2:14).

*St. George's, Austin*, a beautiful brick church, with pipe organ and walnut chancel furniture, was organized at Michaelmas in 1873. Bishop Talbot held the first service there on his way out in 1863. The church was actually started in 1863 by a layman, Mr. Goodwin, the only congregation ever to be so started in Nevada. In 1866 regular service was held in the courthouse. The first rector stayed less than a year. In 1874, the Rev. S. C. Blackiston, saintly priest, came and stayed five years—a record for Nevada for many years. On Easter, 1877, he asked for offerings for a church building. In response, Mr. Allen A. Curtis, superintendent of the Manhattan mine, offered to build the church and pay for it if the others would furnish it—this too a record for Nevada, not again repeated anywhere in the district. Messrs. W. A. Page and John A. Paxton united in the gift of the fine bell that still calls the people to worship. And Mr. J. S. Porteous made a gift of \$1,000 for the purchase of a pipe organ, which alas, has no one now to play it. When completed the church cost \$15,000, all of which was given by the people of the town. Here alone in Nevada, of all the records examined, does one find fees charged for baptisms!

*Grace Church, Silver City*, was begun in 1862, services being held in various places. In 1875 a church building was undertaken for which the Rev. W. R. Jenvey raised \$2,750, but before it could be completed it was wrecked by a hurricane. Rebuilt later it blew down again. Bishop Hunting rebuilt it on a reduced scale and anchored it with

steel cables. But in 1935 it was again doomed, this time by fire. The loss was total. The insurance, however, with local contributions and a gift of \$500.00 from the American Church Building Fund, enables its reconstruction. The materials used in its reconstruction were taken from the Bishop Whitaker house in Virginia City; and inasmuch as no memorial to the beloved bishop existed in the district it was decided to rename it THE BISHOP WHITAKER MEMORIAL CHAPEL, an act which greatly pleased the older residents who remembered him. The congregation is small and the work feeble, owing to the many years of neglected or half-hearted ministrations.

*Trinity Church, Reno.* The first service held in Reno was by Bishop Whitaker, October 16, 1870, in the schoolhouse. The parish was organized in February, 1873; and on May 5th the same year the Rev. Wm. Lucas came out from Ohio to be its rector, continuing till 1878. This venerable priest is now living in his 96th year in Honolulu. In July, 1873, \$400.00 was paid for a lot, and a rectory was built. Sept. 6, 1874, the first confirmation was held in the courthouse. On May 24, 1875, the cornerstone of the church was laid and on December 12th of the same year, was opened by Bishop Whitaker. It was a wooden structure built at a cost of \$6,000 and was consecrated June 8, 1879, being located at the corner of Second and Sierra Sts. It was purchased by Bishop Hunting in 1922 and removed to 8th and University Sts., near the state university, for use as a chapel for the campus community. At a cost of several thousand dollars its interior was remodelled and the name changed to St. Stephen's. For some years the congregation continued to use it as a parish house, pending the time of building a new structure on the newly acquired site on Island Ave. on the south side of the river. Meanwhile the bishop wanted to make of it a pro-cathedral and made plans accordingly. Unfortunately the parish was never wholly won to the cathedral idea, and before this could be accomplished the bishop died.

Subsequently, under the able leadership of the Rev. E. Tanner Brown, a substantial sum of money was raised, a suitable site purchased and plans drawn. But division arose over the question of Gothic or Spanish, and as a result the rector resigned and the expensive Gothic drawings were discarded. In 1929 with the arrival of a new bishop the matter of building was revived, new plans drawn, and what appeared to be a united parish resolved to proceed with the construction of the first unit. From the \$60,000 deposited in what became on July 5th, 1929, a defunct bank, \$45,000 was recovered with which was built the present crypt. On entering it for dedication on St. Paul's Day, 1930, every bill had been paid and the building fund possessed a nest-egg of \$5,000 toward a second unit.

The crypt was built under a compact to make it a pro-cathedral, an unwise venture and an impractical scheme. A "pro" can never be more than a pretense, an unreality. As a double-header, it requires such entire cooperation between the parish and the district, which means the rector and the bishop, that either one may wreck it, or a small misunderstanding create such friction as to make its usefulness dubious. Consequently the bishop requested, at the annual parish meeting in 1934, that the compact be either cancelled or suspended until such time as the necessary cooperation might be had. The misfortune is that the plans on which the crypt is built call for a church larger than is needed by the parish. The bishop's stone cathedra, a thank offering by the women of Massachusetts, remains there as do the oak pews loaned by the district from St. John's, Goldfield.

In 1931, the centenary of the birth of the beloved Bishop Whitaker, the remaining alumnae of the Whitaker School for Girls subscribed \$1,000 for the purchase of a bell to hang in the Whitaker Memorial tower of the cathedral (Trinity Parish Church) in Reno. The bell was accordingly dedicated, on the bishop's birthday, May 10, 1930, and, until such time as the tower shall be built, was mounted in a temporary belfry on the crypt.

*St. Stephen's House*, formerly the old parish church, consists of chapel, hall and clergy house. With the building of the parish church crypt this was released for the use for which the parish sold it to the bishop and for which the bishop equipped it. The clergy house, nowever, is an addition, made at the time of opening the chapel as a campus work. The cost was defrayed by a gift from Trinity Chapel, New York, originally designated for another project, but its use allowed for this a loan and other funds. The Rev. Frederick D. Graves was appointed the first priest chaplain and for five years labored faithfully to introduce the Church to the campus. During these years he added much to the adornment of both exterior and interior. The lawn and the shrubbery and the trees are due to his diligence. Of more abiding significance, however, is the decorative work in the chapel, including the carved rood with its figures, the memorial altar to his daughter, Mary, and the chancel furniture.

The present incumbent, the Rev. Henry B. Thomas, has inaugurated a program of work to bring the campus to the Church. At the request and with the cooperation of the bishop he has also taken charge of the annual retreat and will seek to promote the retreat movement among the laity of the District.

*Christ Church, Pioche and St. Matthias', Caliente.* In Wren's history is the following description, "One of the most notorious camps



in Nevada in 1870 was Pioche". On September 13th of that year Bishop Whitaker held the first service in a saloon where "150 rough miners crowded in". In 1871 the Rev. Henry L. Badger arrived from Warren, Ohio, to find the town burned to ashes three days before. He stayed four years during which time he built a frame church costing \$3,900, of which the people gave \$3,500, also a rectory. The church was consecrated July 21, 1872, but when the town declined later it was moved to Delamar in the same county, where it was destroyed. The Rev. H. H. Kline succeeded Mr. Badger for one year, "the last Episcopal minister in Pioche" (Wren). In four years Mr. Badger buried 74 people of whom 8 were murders and 5 were suicides. For the next 16 years only on the occasion of the bishop's visitations was there any service. In 1922 Bishop Hunting purchased Miner's Hall and revived the Church's ministration. At this time other religious bodies had either been burned out or had given up. In 1929 the present bishop undertook to rehabilitate the work both there and at Caliente nearby. Against the will of the people he sent in Mr. R. B. Echols, who for five years did faithful service and won the accord and cooperation of the people. The following year Mr. Echols was ordained deacon, the first such service ever to be held there. In the very midst of the service the roof of the church caught fire, but fortunately no great damage was done, and after the excitement died down the service was carried on. In 1936 a new site was acquired in a more desirable location where some day it is hoped a combined mission plant may be erected. In 1933 a site was purchased and a chapel was built in Caliente, 25 miles to the south in the same county, at a cost of \$2,000; but due to an inrush of Mormons the work has not made much headway.

*St. Luke's, Hamilton*, White Pine Co., was a parish organized on September 24, 1870, with the Rev. S. P. Kelley as rector. Service was first held on June 20, 1869, in the courthouse. The rectory was built in 1871, and the church, costing \$3,500, of which \$3,000 was given locally in 1872, was consecrated by Bishop Whitaker, July 14th of the same year. In 1884 the church blew down and the wreckage was sold for \$200.00. After this the town went into decline and no further service was held. The fine bell, however, remained on its frame till 1936, when, after four years of patient effort, it was reclaimed and removed to Pioche.

*St. Stephen's, Belmont*, Nye County. The Rev. S. P. Kelley began service here in a hall in 1872 and stayed four years. A parish was organized February 16, 1874, and a church built at a cost of \$3,790, of which the local people gave \$2,750, and was consecrated by Bishop

Whitaker on the third Sunday after Easter, 1875. For some inexplicable reason a year and a half went by after service was begun before the Holy Eucharist was celebrated. The first rector was the Rev. S. B. Moore whose salary was "\$200.00 in gold". Virginia City gave a font and the lamps. In 1900 Bishop Leonard made a visit which took two days each way and cost him \$40.00. During Bishop Hunting's time the town shrunk to a shadow and service was discontinued. After his death someone, who should have known better, sold the church and all that was in it for \$20.00. Later the iron cross (now on St. Stephen's Chapel) and the bishop's chair (now in St. Stephen's Chapel) were recovered, the chair having been found in a miner's cabin nearby.

*St. Bartholomew's, Ely*, White Pine Co. On January 18, 1902, the Rev. Arnoldus Miller began holding service in a hall. In 1907 the Rev. George Coolidge Hunting (later bishop) built both church and vicarage. The pipe organ and loft for the same were given by Mr. W. B. Thompson at a cost of \$3,000; and the pews by G. L. Rickard and wife as a memorial, at a cost of \$700.00. A good record of the project is preserved in the church register. Ely serves the towns of McGill, Ruth and Kimberley.

*St. Mark's, Tonopah*, Nye County. The first service in this big silver camp was held in 1904 by the Rev. Dr. Unsworth of Reno. The cornerstone was laid in 1906, the only one in Nevada bearing the initials "P. E." In 1909 largely through the untiring work of the woman's guild a vicarage was acquired on the lot adjoining the church. St. Mark's is a stone structure, unusually well furnished. Little thought however was given to choir conveniences, and none to social life. We would not build such churches now. Tonopah affords an example of the difficulty of carrying on effective work in such towns. In 25 years there have been 15 vicars. The present incumbency also shows what can be done when a priest fits in, has a purpose and desires to stay.

*St. John's-in-the-Wilderness, Goldfield*, 25 miles from Tonopah, has always been served, when at all, by the priest of Tonopah. Service was first held on May 27th, 1906, in the office of H. B. Bind by the Rev. Mr. Johnson of Tonopah. In 1907 Archdeacon Hazlett records that people were "pouring in at a thousand a month". A beautiful stone church was built and memorial windows installed. As fast as the town grew so fast did it go down. Fortunes were made and fortunes lost during the hectic days of the stampede. Great buildings still stand as witness to hasty investments and unfulfilled hopes. The stone altar was taken to Boulder City in 1934 and most of the pews

were loaned to Reno in 1930. Service is still held at least twice a month in the little chapel which has been made out of the choir room.

*St. Andrew's, Battle Mountain, Lander County.* On St. Andrew's Day, 1905, Archdeacon Smithe inaugurated service in this place. The church, not very well planned, was built under the Rev. Lloyd B. Thomas, and the vicarage, too large for today, was built under the Rev. Hoyt Henriques. Removals and the stationary conditions of the town leave the Church weak. To meet changed conditions an apartment was built at the church in 1935 and a deaconess appointed to assist the priest in charge who is able to make only two visits a month here.

*St. Paul's, Elko.* In 1891 Bishop Leonard of Utah and Nevada reported that the Rev. W. H. Houghton had entered upon his duties as missionary in Elko with every promise of a successful year. On December 31st, 1893, the bishop consecrated a new church building "58 feet long by 28 feet in the nave, and 46 feet from the north to the south arm. The sanctuary is apsidal 12 feet deep". The cost of the completed structure was a little more than \$4,000. The first baptism was performed in the vestry room on St. John's Day—four days before the consecration. In 1895 a vicarage was built. In 1905 it was enlarged; and "Leonard Hall" a parish house, was built the same year. The beginning of this worthy memorial was made possible by a bequest of \$500 by Mr. J. Henderson, a Methodist layman. In 1933 a fire partially destroyed Leonard Hall, which, under the leadership of the vicar, the Rev. F. C. Taylor, was rebuilt and greatly improved. Elko is an important field and might under persevering leadership soon become a parish. On all counts it is one of the best towns in the state.

*St. Paul's, Sparks,* is really the old St. James', Wadsworth. With the transfer of the Southern Pacific railroad shops from Wadsworth to Sparks in 1905 the principal part of the population moved with them, leaving St. James' without a congregation. The first baptism in Wadsworth was in 1892, the last October 16, 1922. The last confirmation took place in 1914. The church building at Wadsworth appears to have been a union institution, with no one in legal possession. The bishop deserted it and followed the people to the new town of Sparks, where were built a church, too large and not well planned for good usage, a parish hall, and a vicarage, the last a memorial to the Rev. Thomas L. Bellam, the venerable and beloved pastor. The work here has never been very fruitful, lacking, as it seems now, definite and continuous church teaching with prayer Book practice.



*St. Mary-the-Virgin, Winnemucca.* The Winnemucca mission was begun by Fr. Bellam, and the church was built by Archdeacon Hazlett in 1906. Later on an imprudent venture was made by the building of a swimming pool, the ruins of which serve only to make the people wish they now had the money to use in needed repairs and improvements. The congregation has been too intermittently ministered to to have gathered strength. Now, however, under continuing pastoral care of Fr. DeMaré, the hope of growth and strength brightens. The mission serves the whole of 2 counties, an area of 13,000 square miles.

*Christ Church, Las Vegas*,—before division of the county the second church by the same name in the county. Las Vegas is an increasingly important centre, being the point of departure for the justly famed Boulder Dam and Boulder City. Service began in the old schoolhouse in October, 1907, by the Rev. Harry G. Gray. In 1908 after the coming of Bishop Robinson the vicar led in building the present church and vicarage (now used as a parish hall). The church built of concrete blocks, being too heavy for the foundation, needs constant repair. Las Vegas might have been expected to show greater strength seeing it has had only 8 vicars in the 29 years of its existence, but it has always been an open town, and today has a name among visitors not to be envied. But it is not without hope that the Church holds on. In 1933 with the aid of the diocese of Quincy and the gift of a site by Dr. and Mrs. Roy W. Martin, under the pastorate of the Rev. A. S. Kean, a new vicarage of Spanish architecture, was built, thus releasing the old vicarage for the use of a parish hall.

*Trinity Church, Fallon.* The opening up of the Newlands irrigation project resulted in the establishment of the town of Fallon, 66 miles southeast of Reno. In 1907 a church was built and later a vicarage and hall for parish use. This is one of the most important points in the district and should have full-time pastoral care. The reason for its slow development has been due to frequent pastoral change and subsequent vacancies. This seems to be a place where the people await only leadership. Its importance would justify the appointment of a full-time priest.

*St. Philip's-in-the-Desert, Hawthorne.* This town was for sixty years without a church. It is a county seat and at one period had several thousand population and a railroad. Due to a closing of the mines nearby, it is much reduced now. However it is important as being contiguous to the Naval Depot. In 1884 the people asked Bishop Whitaker for the church. In 1894 it made a similar request of Bishop Leonard, but except for an occasional service and a Sunday school



when anyone could be found to conduct it nothing was done until 1930. A gift of a site and a small public donation encouraged the bishop and Archdeacon Lawrence to persevere in establishing a mission. In 1930 on Easter night, the bishop, assisted by the archdeacon and the choir from Tonopah, opened and dedicated the building. A little later Miss Charlotte Brown was appointed and did splendid service. Deaconess Todd was placed in temporary charge under the archdeacon. The first time the bell was rung for service the fire brigade came out. St. Philip's is a type of mission building suitable to modern needs and withal economical and convenient, combining as it does both chapel, hall and dwelling. About \$6,000, the gift of a "special" from Southern Ohio of \$5,000, and of \$1,000 from Mrs. E. L. French of Plainsfield, N. J., have been spent to date resulting in a very adequate mission plant. In a place where the people protested in 1929 that they had got along for 60 years without a church and that now they did not need one, within a week after the opening, every service of the Prayer Book has been held except those of churching and ordination! The Woman's Altar Guild of Southern Ohio gave the silver communion set, and Miss E. G. Gnagey of Albany the altar cross in memory of her parents.

*All Saints', Dayton.* Service was held here as early as 1862 in the courthouse and a mission organized under the name of The Ascension. No record however exists of any church building, until Bishop Hunting hove the frame church from Gold Hill and renamed it under its present title. At present it is served by the priest at Carson City.

*St. Peter's, Mina.* The Rev. Dr. Unsworth of Reno held service here in 1906. The town was becoming important by virtue of a mining boom in that part of the state. After becoming the terminus of the Southern Pacific and the Tonopah and Goldfield Railroads its importance greatly increased. Archdeacon Hazlett was placed in charge and under his supervision the chapel was built, costing some \$1,500 of which the bishop provided \$1,200. It is the only portable chapel in the district; and due to its slender character is neither suited to withstand the severe cold nor to protect from the intense summer heat. The town has of late years gone down, and the hope of church growth is not encouraging. People, however, are there and should have pastoral care. At present it is attached to Hawthorne, and is the only church building in the place. This is a place where a former bishop allowed some non-church woman to hold a union Sunday school—a dubious arrangement, which has now come under Presbyterian influence. The net result seems altogether negative.

*St. Francis', Lovelock,* was formerly the Church of the Nativity in Golconda. When Golconda began to decline, leaving only the

Basque people there, Bishop Hunting moved the building to Lovelock. For several years it was neglected and in 1929 was discovered surrounded by drifted sand. Realizing that only a resident worker could save the situation the bishop borrowed enough money to renovate the building and add on living quarters, and later appointed Deaconess Margaret to work under the visiting priest. The venture has proved a wise one and the field has become promising. The bell was formerly on the church at Tuscarora.

*The Good Shepherd, Beatty.* The existence of this desert chapel is due wholly to the devotion of Judge and Mrs. Wm. Gray. Feeling the need of the Church they purchased a concrete block building in the defunct town of Rhyolite, took it down and hauled it over the pass to Beatty. There with the assistance of Bishop Hunting and local people re-erected it on property they had already appropriated for the purpose. Service began March 22nd, 1916. The Woman's Auxiliary of New York and Pennsylvania made gifts toward the cost. A monthly visit is the best we are able to do at the present, and that always on a weekday. Ours is the only chapel here. Mrs. Gray, now in Paradise, lived to see the building finished and the work established.

*St. Barnabas', Wells.* Intermittent services had been held here for years, but not till 1933 was any effort made to establish a church centre. With the aid of the American Church Building Fund and under the supervision of the Rev. F. C. Taylor of Elko, in whose care the mission was placed, a combination chapel, hall and residence was built at a cost of \$2,000. A deaconess was placed in charge under the vicar of Elko, which has resulted in reopening the mountain chapel of *St. Luke in Clover Valley*; the acquiring of a disused school for a chapel in *Ruby Valley*; the purchase of a building at *Contact*, which was dedicated under the name of *St. Agnes'*, in honor of a gift received from Miss Emma Morris, a churchwoman of *St. Agnes' Chapel, New York City*, toward its purchase; and the revival of the work at *Montello*.

*And Twenty Others.* The records speak of other places which once had the promise of permanency; but the fall in price of precious metals and the lure of newer and richer camps drew the people away as "pay dirt" became more rare. The town of Verdi, however, differed in that its industry was lumber. For a good many years Dr. Unsworth of Reno maintained services there and between 1902 and 1913 baptized 68 persons. He built a chapel, which was destroyed in the fire that consumed the town. In 1913, Bishop Moreland, then in charge of western Nevada, confirmed 18 persons. Because after the fire the town did not rebuild, the work was abandoned.

*Aurora*, one of the early camps on the California border high in the mountains was visited at least once by Bishop Talbot in 1863. The bishop found 2,500 people there, a parish was planned and a salary of \$100 per month offered to "a man of some ability, and a good deal of common sense". Bishop Hunting held services there in 1915. Of this visit he wrote: "Night broken up by fire. Car so hot I had to use the little water I had to cool off the glass."

*Treasure City*, near Hamilton, was a busy place in 1869, had service, but soon went down.

*Eberhardt* in 1872 had "Trinity Chapel, neat and built of wood". This has long since gone.

*Wonder*, in White Pine County, and Clifton, in Lander County once had bustling populations. Of the latter Bishop Talbot wrote in 1863 "two miles of houses, lumber \$400 a thousand, and mechanics \$9.00 a day.

*Delamar*, in Lincoln County had once an active congregation and a resident priest. The foundation of the church alone remains to tell the story. For years death has reigned in the old camp, but a recent revival may warrant a renewal of the work.

*Mill City*, still stands a small place, and aside from an occasional service nothing is done there. *Franklin, Galena, Genoa, Como, Golconda, Thompson, Mason, Rawhide, Shermantown, Ophir, Franktown, Washe City, Fernley* all appear in the records as having been important enough to purchase lots and have chapels planned for them, but most have disappeared.

*Tuscarora*, Elko Co., from which the bell at Lovelock came, has only a few souls left, where once it had thousands and great activity. The old decaying chapel is beyond repair. It was here that Bishop Talbot is reported to have held his first service in Nevada.

*Empire* in 1866 was a regular point of visitation, Bishop Whitaker going there frequently. In that year he records several baptisms.

*Searchlight*, our most southern station is up and down, but manages to hold together and maintain a good public school. The priest at Boulder City visits there once a month. Service was first held January 23, 1917.

*Goodsprings*, in the Las Vegas field, has a chapel, in poor condition now, maintains a good Sunday School and receives a monthly service. The first ministrations there were in February, 1916. *The Spirit of Missions* of July, 1921, reports the bishop buying a saloon building, which he moved to Goodsprings and fitted it up for a chapel.

*St. Christopher's, Boulder City*, was made necessary by the building of Boulder Dam. The first service of any description held here

was conducted in a little schoolhouse by the Rev. A. S. Kean in the fall of 1930. Later, and until the church was erected, service was held in various places. In 1932 the bishop received an undesignated legacy of \$5,000 with which the building was begun. Aided by local gifts of money and labor one of the best buildings in the district was the result. The importance of the place warrants our maintaining a resident priest and a regular weekly schedule of ministrations. The town has an important future.

*St. Alban's, Yerington*, our latest extension, and this into a rural agricultural community. Already the venture has justified the initial outlay. The deaconess in residence has branched out into the valleys and proved what can be done when the fit person undertakes it. The combination building was erected in 1934 at a cost of \$3,500. Priestly ministrations are given by the vicar of Fallon twice a month. The altar and font were the gift of Mrs. R. J. Manly in memory of her husband. And the beautiful sterling communion set was the gift of Mrs. Wm. Edgar McCord of North Carolina in memory of her husband, who had used them in the army in France. Mrs. L. F. Monteagle's gift of "\$1,000 to the Bishop of Nevada for his cathedral" was invested by permission in the erection of this chapel.

### INDIAN WORK.

*St. Mary-the-Virgin, Nixon*—Pyramid Lake Reservation. *The Spirit of Missions* for 1898 on page 95 gives a picture of the first Nixon Indian Mission. Miss Marian Taylor had been sent there as early as 1895 by Bishop Leonard. At first she used a small house loaned by the government. The Friday mothers' meeting which she started has continued till now. She reported that when she first attempted to teach them the Lord's prayer they all laughed at her. In 1912 the mission burned. This was later rebuilt of concrete blocks. In 1917 the clergy and mission house was built as a memorial to the memory of Bishop Spalding who had for a time had charge of that part of the state. In 1932 the present St. Joseph's Hall was built by an undesignated legacy. And at the same time the buildings were all equipped with electricity and the house and hall with furnaces.

The weakness of this piece of our work is due to the neglect of sacramental teaching and ministration. Until 1932, except for one year, the work has been left to women workers. For weal or woe women are not priests and so can render only a limited ministry. While no Indian mission should be without a woman worker, none should be without the oversight and direction of a priest. That deficiency has



now been remedied, and the difficult task of restoring the many who have been confirmed lies ahead. Our hope is with the young, and for the most part the children are quite amenable and responsive.

*St. Matthew's, Moapa*, a small reservation in the south, 500 miles from our next piece of Indian work, was undertaken in 1917. A combination mission house was built and eventually, in 1931, made habitable and comfortable. A deaconess has always been in charge of it with a monthly visit by the priest from Las Vegas. The allocating of spheres of work by some professing non-partisan group sometimes results in such an arrangement as Moapa. If denominational spheres are to be defined they should be compact and contiguous.

*St. Anne's, Fort McDermitt* in Humboldt County, near the Oregon border, is another small reservation for which nothing had ever been done up to 1932. In that year the government gave us the use of an unoccupied house in which to begin work. Repaired and furnished for dwelling and chapel, Miss Alice Wright, for three previous years at Nixon and prior to that 14 years at Nenana, Alaska, was sent to open up the field. Patiently and wisely plodding along the road of instruction and helpful service to the people in need, she is beginning to see a little harvest. Here there has been no pauperizing by enticing people by gifts and gratuities. The need is a combination mission building. \$2,500 would cover the cost, if the government grants us a site, as it doubtless would.

At Lovelock, Battle Mountain, Wells, and Las Vegas the small groups of Pahutes are ministered to by the local white workers—the only way possible to minister to them at all.

### SCHOOLS.

*The Bishop Whitaker School.* Before high schools came into existence in our western field and before traversible roads were built the need for private schools for secondary education was very great. Most missionary bishops opened such schools. Bishop Whitaker did this in Reno for Nevada. He knew the state and its needs as no other did. In 1875 Miss K. L. Wolfe of New York gave the bishop \$10,000 for this purpose, Miss Grosvenor of New York \$1,000, a friend in Nevada \$2,500 and Reno citizens \$5,000. The Central Pacific Railroad gave the site; and the bishop borrowed the other necessary \$10,000, for which he paid 18% interest! The school was built of wood, 3 stories high, and 40 by 88 ground measure. The cost was \$28,000. It accommodated 45 boarders and 5 teachers. It was opened on October 12, 1877, with 36 boarders and 20 day pupils, with Miss

Kate A. Hill of Vassar as principal. The boarding pupil's costs were \$300.00 a year and day pupil's \$40.00. The school was steam-heated and even at that early day had running water and electric lights. For ten years Bishop Whitaker nursed it, managed it, and carried it on to success. Writes Davis, "There never was a tenderer father". In 1879 the Bishop wrote, "The School is a permanent institution". How little he knew! In 1886 he left for Pennsylvania, and Nevada was turned over to Utah which already had a girls' school to care for. In 1889 Miss Sarah Burr gave \$10,000 for education of females in Nevada, but in spite of this in 1892 Bishop Leonard wrote, "About the school I feel unusually depressed". In 1893 he was appealing for \$1,500 to keep the doors open. Hard times had come. Yet, of the 12 girls who took state examinations that year the only one to receive a first class certificate was a Whitaker girl. The opening of high schools in the larger centres and the fact of the bishop having two schools on his hands, (of which Reno 500 miles from where he lived), led him in 1897 to close its doors and eventually to sell the property. Writes Davis in his history of Nevada: "Much good has been done in the state by other institutions, but none have done better or more lasting work than Bishop Whitaker School for Girls". With increasing population and a widespread desire for education the Whitaker School for Girls is needed today. But it is too late!

*Galilee—Summer School.* In 1918 Bishop Hunting opened a summer conference for the clergy meeting at Lakeside in California on Lake Tahoe. In 1919 Mrs. Kate S. Hill seeing what the bishop was endeavoring to do gave the district four acres of wooded land for a school site. In 1920 the bishop began to build, and with volunteer labor put up a cottage and garage and opened an outdoor chapel, where, during July and August he held summer service. His helpers were of a sort as the following shows: One priest was quite sure the saw needed setting because it would not as he said "Follow the pencil mark". Before the school got on its feet in its new location the bishop died, and this suspended the operation till a new bishop came five years later. The Lake Tahoe Summer School is now well known. New buildings have been erected, many conveniences added and the school has grown to the extent of requiring reorganization. Age restrictions have now been set. And added to the school are the boys and girls camp; and for the past two years a provincial youth conference. To finance these activities some of the income from the Whitaker-Burr School fund is used, and so in a way the purpose of the Whitaker School is carried on. It is planned that the next development shall be as a centre for retreats—both for clergy and lay folk.

*Vacation Church Schools.* To implement what is done on Sunday the district began eight years ago, to hold short period schools during the summer holidays for religious training. This enterprise has now become statewide. Every member of the staff understands that one of his duties is to conduct such a school some time during the summer. The number of schools held each year is about 25 and the largest number of pupils so far reported is about 1,000. Beyond doubt here lies an unused missionary opportunity of great potentiality.

*The Scattered Flock.* With the coming of an interested member to our staff in the person of Miss Charlotte L. Brown, the district began five years ago to conduct a church school by mail. The undertaking is proving a blessed service to many in isolated places and on lonely ranches, and in due time, if the staff faint not in well-doing, it will bring forth abundant fruit to the glory of God and the enrichment of the Church. Miss Brown who inaugurated and carried it on so effectively has been obliged to retire. Deaconess Ramsay who succeeded her has entered on her work with rare enthusiasm and understanding.

The needs of Nevada are (1) an adequate staff of priests and deaconesses adapted to the conditions under which they must live—well disciplined—with a large talent of appreciation and sympathy—and with an unwavering spirit of loyalty to the task as the Church defines it; some business sense and a bent for handicraft; a willingness to put themselves at the service of the whole or any part of the district when necessity requires; (2) An increased travel fund; (3) A fund to enable each one to go to a lower altitude for a short period each year; (4) Six new automobiles, (5) and last and most important six new well trained deaconesses to enable the Church to minister in as many places where no religious work is being done.

#### PRESENT STAFF, 1937.

The Rt. Rev. Thomas Jenkins, Bishop of Nevada.

The Rev. Harold R. Baker, in charge of the Tonopah field.

The Rev. B. L. DeMaré, in charge of the Winnemucca field.

The Rev. J. F. Hogben, in charge of the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation.

The Rev. A. S. Kean, in charge of the Carson City field.

The Rev. John T. Knight, in charge of the Pioche field.

The Rev. John F. Moore, in charge of the Fallon field.

The Rev. A. L. Schrock, rector of Trinity Parish, Reno.

The Rev. J. H. Terry, in charge of the Boulder City-Las Vegas field.

The Rev. H. B. Thomas, Student Chaplain, St. Stephen's House, Reno.

Miss Alice Wright, U. T. O., Ft. McDermitt, Indian Reservation.

Miss Ruth Jenkins, Bishop's Secretary.

Deaconess Margaret Booz, U. T. O., Yerington.

Deaconess Agnes R. Bradley, R. N., Nixon.

Deaconess Isabel Ormerod, U. T. O., Moapa.

Deaconess Lydia A. Ramsay, U. T. O., Battle Mt., and in charge of Church School by mail.

Deaconess Eleanore I. Sime, U. T. O., Wells.

Deaconess Edith Smith, U. T. O., Lovelock.

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Some letters and correspondence of the bishops now in the district vault.

*The Desert Churchman* from 1929.

Space allotted to this article does not permit the mention of names, both clerical and lay, of men and women who have counted much in the work during these seventy-five years. Therefore, I have named only those who in some definite way have had to do with the inauguration of the various missions and parishes. A further reason is that no correspondence remains, of which I know, regarding many of the clergy who labored here in the earlier day.



## HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN KANSAS

*By William H. Haupt*

### II.

THE election of Bishop Vail having been confirmed by the bishops and standing committees of the Church he was consecrated in his parish church in Muscatine, Iowa, December 15, 1864. On Monday, January 2, 1865, he started for Kansas, reaching the home of the Rev. Hiram Stone at Fort Leavenworth on the afternoon of Friday, January 6th. On the morning of Sunday, January 8th, he performed his first official act in the diocese, confirming a class of four in the Church of St. Paul in the city of Leavenworth. As we have seen the first organized parish in the Territory was at the Fort and was called the "Church of the Centurion." The Rev. David Clarkson attempted to organize a parish at Pawnee City which had been started by a few speculators as the first capital of the Territory, but which was not accepted by the legislature when it met, and only an old stone ruin marks its location. So this parish first visited by the bishop of Kansas was the oldest organized parish existing in the diocese. Under the Rev. Hiram Stone it had been organized as St. Paul's Church, and when he resigned it had 43 communicants. It was first designed to build a church on the north side of the city and the foundations were prepared. But the plans were changed and a small wooden church was erected, on the south side, which was consecrated by Bishop Kemper November 7th, 1858. This was the first church consecrated in the territory and diocese of Kansas. The location proved unfortunate for the growth of the parish, and in October, 1859, Mr. Stone resigned and accepted the chaplaincy at Fort Leavenworth. From that time till 1863 the rectorship remained unsupplied, and during all this time services were continued, with more or less regularity through the generous labors of Mr. Stone. In March, 1863, the parish was reorganized as the Church of St. Paul, and the Rev. John H. Egar became its rector. Through his efforts a new and large church of Gothic design, was commenced on the north side of the city, and though not complete, the bishop here held his first confirmation in the diocese and the sixth annual convention, being the first over which he presided.

"On Thursday, January 12th, I went by stage to Wyandotte, where I conferred with the Rev. R. S. Nash, then rector of St. Paul's in that city, in reference to the conditions and needs of our Church there, and was entertained at the home of Mr. E. M. Bartholow, senior warden, then a resident of Kansas City \* \* \*. The first parish in this neighborhood was organized at Quindaro, the town next above Wyandotte on the Missouri. The Rev. Octavius Perinchief came to Quindaro as a missionary about the first of August, 1857, and organized St. Paul's Church in that town, becoming its first and only rector, in March, 1858. He left the town and Territory about the first of June following on account of ill-health. Sunday, January 15th, the bishop spent in Trinity parish, Lawrence, and on Monday, Judge Geo. W. Smith drove him to Topeka, where he was entertained in the home of F. W. Giles, Esq., who for many years we find associated with the ladies' seminary and Grace Church.

"On our way we passed through Tecumseh. In this place a parish by the name of St. John's Church was organized in 1857 by the Rev. Chas. M. Callaway, who officiated as rector for a few months, occasionally officiating at Lecompton, the adjoining town. In this last named place—which was at one time the capital of the Territory—a parish by the name of St. Luke's Church was organized a little later in the same year by the Rev. J. W. Ellis, who became the rector. Both of these parishes had a very short existence of only two or three years."

The Rev. N. C. Preston who had resigned and removed to Manhattan to accept the position of professor of mathematics and English literature in the Kansas State Agricultural College, continued to give his services during the summer asking no other reward than the approval of his conscience \* \* \* his support during the whole period of his residence at Topeka was almost entirely derived from his labors at the seminary; and on his retirement from the rectorship, in view of the depressed condition of business from the drought and from the war, and of the efforts of the people in building their church, he \* \* \* generously remitted all arrears of salary amounting to nearly one thousand dollars.

The church being unfinished, the bishop met this discouraged flock at a reception at the house of Mr. Giles. At the close of the evening, he made an address on a portion of the third chapter of Second Thessalonians, after which they said the Litany and other prayers and sang. Later the bishop arranged for the Rev. Mr. Oliver of Lawrence to give occasional services until June 1. The Rev. John N. Lee of Cambridge, Ind., accepted the rectorship of Grace Church and became principal of the Female Seminary.

On Wednesday, the 18th of January, the bishop took the stage for the fifty-six mile drive to Leavenworth, preaching again in the Church of St. Paul on Thursday and expecting to fill an appointment at Trinity Church, Atchison on Sunday; but a telegram informed him of the serious illness of a son, and he hastened to his old home, preaching on the way at St. James Church, Chicago. After the funeral of this son, the bishop remained in the East to secure an endowment for the episcopate, as no provision had been made by the diocese for his support. "About the time of my consecration, the two general missionary societies of our Church, The American Church Missionary Society, and the Domestic Committee of the Board of Missions, made liberal and co-operative appropriations by which the present support of the bishop is in considerable part provided for."

The bishop proceeds in his journal to give the names of the churches visited and contributing to this endowment fund. In this protracted tour among the churches, he says he was most considerately received, and thanks them for their hospitalities, and liberal and cheerful benefactions.

Thursday, July 13th, finds him back in Kansas at Atchison, beginning his second visitation of the diocese. This is the first record the bishop makes of visit to Atchison. On Sunday, the 16th, he officiated in Price's Hall. On the 15th of September, 1864, Bishop Lee had laid the cornerstone of a church on the south side, which contained many valuable relics, but this had been robbed and nothing further had been done toward the building. The Rev. J. E. Ryan resigned this same day and went to Iowa. During this convention year this parish remained without a rector.

The Rev. J. H. Egar being in the East collecting funds for the Church of St. Paul, Leavenworth, the bishop officiated here Sunday, the 24th. The bishop attended the State teachers' convention at Atchison the following Thursday and Friday and became a member, taking part in the debates and making a special address by request.

The Rev. W. H. D. Hatton of Pennsylvania took charge of St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte, June 1st. On the 30th of July the bishop visited the parish and confirmed one person.

Grace Church, Topeka, had in the meantime taken on new life, and on Sunday, August 5th, the bishop confirmed 21. It was announced at this service that a debt of \$600 was paid off. The diocesan school for girls which had not been in operation since the resignation of Mr. Preston was reopened in September. The rooms were also made ready for boarding pupils from other parts of the States. The bishop also took in hand the improving of the fine square of twenty acres given the seminary at the laying out of the city.

On Thursday the bishop went by stage for his first visit to Manhattan nearly sixty miles west of Topeka. Bishop Kemper had visited this place and other points in central Kansas in 1859. The walls of the church begun about this time were completed with roof and tower in 1860, but the drought, the war, and the consequent prostration of business and the absence of some of the congregation in the army, compelled a suspension of the work. With the return of the rector the work was again taken up and the effort made to complete the church. But the Rev. N. O. Preston did not live to enjoy its opening.

After several services, baptizing one and confirming three, he with the rector visited all the Church families. Then riding ponies because of the heavy roads and swollen streams, they conducted services in the Congregational church at Wabaunsee, fourteen miles southeast of Manhattan, where six years before the Rev. N. O. Preston had organized a parish by the name of Trinity Church. Only one of the original members remained in the town. This lady with a new family from Christ Church, Stratford, Conn., were enrolled as communicants at Manhattan.

The Rev. Charles Reynolds came over from Fort Riley and took the bishop to the Fort. The bishop here in his journal records that Mr. Reynolds had not only ministered as the pioneer clergyman at Lawrence and Prairie City, but also at Blanton's Bridge, Clinton, Mineola, Peoria, Blue Mount, Olathe, Shawneetown, Gardner, Osawatimie, Garnett, Emporia, Burlington, Leroy, Iola and Fort Scott.

The chapel at Fort Riley, which the bishop tells us was the finest in any of our garrisons, was built through the efforts of the Rev. David Clarkson just before the war, by subscriptions of the officers and other residents. The walls were completed and waited to be roofed, when the military authorities took it and covered it for a depot of ordnance supplies. Later it was returned to the purpose for which it was built, but at this time the bishop held services in the barracks, Sunday, August 21st, and Tuesday night in the hospital at Junction City.

The bishop tells us that the first sermon ever preached at Junction City by a minister of any denomination was by the Rev. N. O. Preston. The first regular services held here were by the Rev. David Clarkson, who in addition to his duties as chaplain at Fort Riley also supplied occasional services at this place till a missionary was appointed.

On September 21st, 1859, the Rev. Geo. D. Henderson engaged in the work here as the missionary of our Church. An eligible lot, containing nearly an acre of ground, was then secured, and a stone church was commenced, the walls were completed but the building



was imperfectly roofed. And so the church remained through the war, like the churches at Manhattan, Topeka, Fort Riley and Fort Scott, unfinished and unoccupied. After visiting all the people and preaching in the hall the bishop went to Council Grove accompanied by the quartermaster, J. G. Quinn. This place had then 200 inhabitants besides soldiers and government teamsters. The bishop found two Church families and baptized one of their children. Friday afternoon Lieut. Quinn arranged conveyance for the bishop to go to Emporia where he found the Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox, missionary at Burlington and parts adjacent, and that night he preached in the Methodist church. He found there twenty-five who would welcome the services of the Church.

Burlington, then a village of about 200, was next visited. Sunday, August 27th, services were held in the lower story of a stone school-house just enclosed: in the morning preaching and administering the holy communion, and at night he preached again and confirmed three, two being the rector's children. On Tuesday they conducted services in the Methodist Church at Leroy, where one devout Church family was found. At midnight they returned to Burlington, and Wednesday met some candidates for confirmation and that night two adults were baptized and six persons confirmed, making nine at this first visitation.

On Thursday accompanied by Mr. Hickcox who had secured a conveyance, they started for Fort Scott. That night was spent with a Church family, the only one, at Humbolt. The next day they drove the forty-five miles to Ft. Scott. "Lots for a church and parsonage were secured here, and a parish organized by the name of St. Andrew's Church by the Rev. Mr. Reynolds in 1859. At this place also during his residence here most recently, on detailed service as regimental chaplain, in 1863-64, a stone church, of well arranged Gothic proportions and of large capacity, was built by the people almost entirely at their own expense. This work was accomplished by the ladies of the parish one of whom in particular, deserves especial thanks for her energy and perseverance. In the emergencies of the late war the Government has used it, as in the case of the chapel at Fort Riley \* \* \* ." On Saturday evening a reception at the home of Major Haynes afforded the bishop the opportunity of meeting the people. On Sunday, Sept. 3rd, Mr. Hickcox reading the service, the bishop preached to a large congregation in the city hall. In the afternoon he visited and addressed a meeting of the freedmen. After baptizing three children he started north visiting Mound City, Twin Springs and Paola. At Osawatonie a parish had been organized by the Rev. J. H. Drum-

mond, and named the Church of the Covenant, which was represented in the primary convention, by J. B. Schofield and H. B. Smith. A few persons still desired the services of the Church, and the bishop hoped to find an efficient missionary to man the district. The bishop paid a visit to the Rev. J. H. Drummond who resided on his farm at Spring Hill.

At Prairie City the bishop visited the people and inspected the property which had once been Heber Institute, a school for boys. There was a petition signed by forty persons requesting the re-establishment of services, expressing the intention of buying the building from the diocese and using one story for a school and the other for a church. When this matter came before the next convention, the action of a former convention to sell this property and use the funds for the erection of a church at Burlington was rescinded and a committee appointed to sell this and any other abandoned property and pay the proceeds over to the trustee of the Episcopal seminary at Topeka. The bishop in his next annual address asked that this property be not sold, and the convention withdrew it from the hands of the committee. In 1869 a committee was appointed to dispose of this property and the name of the parish was removed from the roll of parishes. We find in the journal of 1873 among the receipts for the College of the Sisters of Bethany the sum of \$579, credited to the proceeds of the sale of this property, and thus ends the story of a once promising institution.

Returning to the bishop's account of his visitations in 1865; we find him at Olathe where he finds another parish represented in the primary convention extinct. Bishop Kemper who visited this parish was still affectionately remembered by the faithful few. Several of these standing high in the community desired the re-establishment of the Church. In all south-east Kansas there was but one active clergyman, the Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox, but before the close of the year following the Rev. J. M. Kendrick was stationed at Fort Scott who proved to be a great missionary. South and west of Burlington there was not a man, Junction City was the most western post and it had the services of the chaplain of Fort Riley who also pushed out as the settlement increased, but to the north and west of this there was no clergyman. Nor was there any in northeast Kansas except at Topeka, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Fort Leavenworth and Atchison.

The bishop visited Elwood and Troy which by reason of the war had so changed in population that only a few of our church people remained. The parish at Elwood, says the bishop, was organized by the Rev. R. S. Nash in 1857 and a church costing \$1,500 was im-

mediately built only \$200 being contributed abroad. The last member of this parish having removed to St. Joseph in August, 1865, the people of the community took possession of the church, tore it down and removed it to another locality and built a schoolhouse.

The annual convention of 1865 noted the discontinuance of the parishes at Elwood, Lecompton, Olathe, Osawatomie, Paola, Quindaro, Tecumseh and Wabaunsee.

Three new clergy appear on the roll, the Rev. John Newton Lee, rector of Grace Church and principal of the Female Seminary, Topeka; the Rev. R. W. Oliver, rector of Trinity Church, Lawrence; and the Rev. Wm. H. D. Hatton, rector-elect of St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte. The Rev. R. S. Nash had removed to Alton, Illinois. Trinity Church, Atchison, was without a rector this year having determined to secure the bishop as rector. He had officiated three times, and the last being the confirmation of seven persons Sept. 14. There were now 26 communicants and a small Sunday school but no church building except a small rectory.

St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth, continued to grow under the care of the Rev. John H. Egar, reporting 62 families and 40 communicants, contributions of \$1,400.45.

St. Andrew's, Burlington, under the Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox increased to 21 communicants, total contributions, including \$62 to the missionary, were \$100.95. The character of the man is shown by these words from his report: "Although the past year has been one of peculiar trial for the missionary of the Neosho Valley, yet we rejoice in the gracious fulfilment of the Master's promise, upon which all success in the upbuilding of the Lord's kingdom depends, 'Lo, I am with you always.'" He conducted services also at Emporia and Leroy.

St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte also shows an increase, communicants 25, Sunday school 115, with 11 teachers. The property owned by the parish free from debt, a frame church seating 250 and a two story frame rectory and the lots on which they stand. This growth was due to the building of the Union Pacific R. R. but with the removal of the shops to Lawrence the parish lost so heavily that the rector resigned.

Grace Church, Topeka, reported an increase of 23 making 42 communicants on the rolls, the debt of \$600 on the church was paid, and \$132 raised for other purposes not including rector's support.

Trinity Church, Lawrence, contributed this year 250 toward the support of its rector, balance on the rectory \$275.85 and other purposes amounting to \$749.56. There were added 11 communicants, making 22 now enrolled.

St. Paul's Church, Manhattan, took a new start in life with the return of the Rev. N. O. Preston. It had 17 communicants. \$1,000 was raised toward the completion of the church.

This convention was held in St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth, September 13, 14 and 15. After the adjournment the bishop remained to prepare the journal for the press until Friday, the 24th, when he went to Atchison, visited among the people and attended a business meeting at which he accepted the rectorship of this church. Wednesday evening he solemnized the marriage of two sisters, one of whom was married to J. J. Ingalls, afterwards U. S. Senator from Kansas.

On October 1 the bishop was in the East and at Pittsburg attending the sessions of the General Board of Missions and the American Church Mission Society and the Evangelical Knowledge Society. After which the General Convention held its sessions. The bishop was one of the six bishops who felt compelled to make a public statement expressive of their opposition to the omission on the part of the General Convention in not returning public thanks to God for "The establishment of lawful government of the land in the restoration of national union, and the extinction of involuntary servitude." "The highest and dominant motive of the majority was undoubtedly the desire to avoid saying or doing anything that might be disagreeable to returning brethren." He laid the rapid rise of ritualism as a punishment upon the Church for her omission to render public thanks for what she had publicly prayed.

After the adjournment of the convention and until the first of February the bishop spent in the East raising funds for the support of the episcopate in the diocese. "Of the amount actually collected for this purpose, New York contributed \$8,073.93; Pennsylvania, \$4,841.15; Massachusetts, \$4,608.70; Rhode Island, \$2,283.04; Chicago, \$903.13; New Jersey, \$368, and Connecticut, \$101; making a total of \$21,177.13. Of this amount the sum of \$20,000 has been set apart as a permanent interest bearing fund, the increase of which is to go toward the support of the bishop; \$750 has been set apart to purchase a lot for an episcopal residence; \$223.30 was expended in traveling and printing, etc., and the balance of \$204.65 is transferred to the account of the episcopal residence, for which with this balance and in addition to the lots referred to some \$1,500 are already raised and which, I trust will one day be built for the benefit of the diocese."

From the fourth of February the bishop took the visitations of the diocese of Pennsylvania for Bishop W. Bacon Stevens, who was suddenly stricken ill. This kept him out of his own diocese till June 10th when he took services at Atchison and began the visitations of the diocese of Kansas.



In the meanwhile the bishop secured the services of the Rev. John Bakewell, a young unmarried priest, as his assistant at Atchison. He lived in the bishop's house and as a part of his reward for faithful efficient services he secured the hand of the bishop's daughter.

## IX.

The seventh annual convention was held in Trinity Church, Lawrence, September 12, 1866. After the usual services the bishop took the chair and called the convention to order. The clergy in canonical residence were:

The Rt. Rev. Thomas H. Vail, D. D., bishop of the Diocese.

The Rev. Hiram Stone, chaplain, Fort Leavenworth.

The Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox, rector St. Andrew's, Burlington.

The Rev. Charles Reynolds, post chaplain, Fort Riley.

The Rev. Geo. D. Henderson, chaplain, U. S. Navy.

The Rev. John H. Egar, rector St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth.

The Rev. R. W. Oliver, rector Trinity Church, Lawrence, and chancellor Kansas University.

The Rev. John Newton Lee, rector Grace Church, Topeka, and principal Female Seminary.

The Rev. Archibald Beatty, rector St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte.

The Rev. John Bakewell, rector of Trinity Church, Atchison.

The Rev. James Hervey Lee, rector St. Paul's and professor Agricultural Col., Manhattan.

The Rev. Joseph Miles Kendrick, rector St. Andrew's Church, Fort Scott.

Personally but not canonically resident: The Rev. J. H. Drummond, residing at Spring Hill, Johnson, Co.

The parishes represented in this convention were:

Burlington, St. Andrew's, S. S. Prouty and H. McAlister.

Leavenworth, Hon. J. A. Halderman and G. W. Nellis.

Atchison, Trinity, Hon. A. H. Horton.

Topeka, Grace, F. P. Baker, J. W. Rarnsworth, E. P. Kellam.

Lawrence, Trinity, T. B. Eldridge, B. Bartholow, James Reynolds.

The Rev. J. N. Lee was elected secretary, and Rev. W. H. Hickcox treasurer.

One of the pioneer clergymen, the Rev. N. O. Preston, had passed away during the year. He was born at Rupert, Bennington county, Vermont, Dec. 22, 1809, and graduated at Middlebury college in that State. Commencing life as a teacher, he soon turned his attention to the ministry, and at the age of 28 received deacon's orders in Ver-

mont, through Bishop Hopkins who soon after ordained him priest. In this diocese he founded the parishes in Bennington and Hoosic Falls, in each place building a church. In 1844 he removed to New Orleans, where he founded the parish and built the Church of the Annunciation. His fidelity was manifest through the yellow fever scourge in 1847, 1850, and 1853. Failing health of a member of his family caused him to resign and remove in 1855 to Philadelphia, and he became rector of the Church of the Nativity. In 1858 he became one of the pioneer missionaries of the Territory of Kansas, fixing his residence at Manhattan, where he commenced and nearly completed St. Paul's Church. In January, 1861, he accepted the invitation to become the principal of the Female Seminary at Topeka, and the rector of Grace Church, and continued in the same three years. He commenced and nearly completed the church building and conducting the school with as great success as was possible with the means at his command. In 1864 he returned to Manhattan as rector of St. Paul's and also as professor of English Literature in the State Agricultural College. In these duties he was still engaged when, on entering his recitation room in the college in his usual health, he instantly and without any premonition of the change, fell asleep in Jesus, on Ash-Wednesday, Feb. 14 of this year. He was buried in Manhattan, Feb. 18, 1866.

In the bishop's four months, one of which was spent at the General Convention, he had not only secured the \$20,000 endowment but had preached 202 times, confirmed 1,713 persons, ordained 2 deacons, 7 to the priesthood, assisted in the consecration of one bishop. He returned to Kansas June 10th preaching that day at Trinity, Atchison, and in the face of the heat of a Kansas summer made his visitations. From his journal we select the following to show his activity and the difficulties as well as to show the progress the Church had been making:

"Sunday, June 17. In the morning preached at the Church of St. Paul, Leavenworth City, and confirmed 17 persons. Three others detained in their homes because of sickness were confirmed making twenty at this visitation. In the afternoon, preached in the chapel at the Fort, and confirmed three persons \* \* \* Monday evening I spent in the parsonage at Wyandotte; to welcome and cheer the new rector and his family.

"Tuesday I went to Lawrence and on Wednesday in company with the rector Rev. Mr. Oliver went on to Leocompton, where I visited two families.

"Sunday, June 24, Grace Church, Topeka. In the morning and at night preached confirming 27 persons \* \* \* .

"Monday I went to Manhattan 56 miles further west."

After two days in examinations, etc., he delivered the annual address to the regents, faculty and students, and that afternoon with Chaplain Reynolds went to Ft. Riley. On Friday morning they went to Junction City and spent the day visiting the people.

Sunday morning he administered the Holy Communion at the post chapel and in the afternoon preached in a public hall at Junction City.

From Fort Riley on Tuesday he came back 100 miles to Lawrence where after spending several days in the meeting of the State Teachers' Institute, on Wednesday, July 4, delivered the annual address to that body. In the second week in August we find him on the stage from Lawrence to Ft. Scott, distant 105 miles. On Friday, after traveling all night, he reached Ft. Scott and spent that day and the next visiting the people. On Sunday he preached both morning and night and in the afternoon had meeting of the vestry.

The bishop gives a statement of the condition of the parishes from which we extract the following:

*Atchison.* "On the 20th day of this year the Rev. John Bakewell of the diocese of Pennsylvania, entered upon his duties as my assistant in Trinity Church, and since that time has had the entire care of the parish, which he has conducted very successfully. The public services are held in a hall, which, although the best that could be secured for regular services, is still quite inconvenient for the purpose. About seven thousand dollars have been subscribed, and in part collected for the erection of a church. These subscriptions were made soon after Mr. Bakewell entered upon his duties, but the work of building was delayed in expectation of the plans for which I had made arrangements in New York before I left the East." When these arrived they were found to be too expensive for the means in hand, so Mr. Bakewell was sent East to procure plans. He secured plans for a stone Gothic church, measuring 89x43, which were adopted. The bishop finding it impossible to do the double duty of rector and bishop resigned, and Mr. Bakewell was elected in his stead Sept. 10th. The number of families now number 43, communicants 22, Sunday school: 50 scholars and 9 teachers.

*Leavenworth, St. Paul's.* The temporal affairs of the Church of St. Paul, of which the Rev. John H. Egar is rector, have been administered with very commendable prudence, perseverance and ability. Twenty were confirmed, 17 added by letter, making the present number of communicants 77; there had been twenty baptisms. There were now 70 families and the collections exclusive of pew rent amounted to \$1,877.56.

*Wyandotte.* The Rev. W. H. D. Hatton resigned the rectorship of St. Paul's Church and removed to Jefferson City, Mo. The Rev. Archibald Beatty of the diocese of Pennsylvania, began his labors the second Sunday in April.

The Rev. R. S. Nash had returned to this parish in May, 1864, but again resigned in April, 1865. The Rev. Mr. Hatton then had charge for less than a year. "The services of the Church having been suspended for several months, the parish had become exceedingly depressed." The strength in numbers was only 12 families, 14 communicants, 4 teachers and 30 pupils in the Sunday school.

*Lawrence, Trinity Church.* The work of this parish had been retarded by the sacking of Lawrence in 1856 and the massacre in 1863. The population now was become more stable, the rector has secured the means to improve the parsonage and other properties. He reported families 28, individuals 80, baptisms 15, confirmations 6, communicants 33, Sunday school 50 pupils and 7 teachers. During the year the parish schoolhouse has been completed, the chapel enlarged and repaired; the third story of the rectory completed, and the entire church grounds enclosed. Expenditures amounting to \$3,095.12. Of this amount it is noted that the rector, the Rev. R. W. Oliver gave \$246 which is \$6.25 more than the parish had contributed to his salary. The parish owes in all about \$400.

*St. Andrew's, Burlington.* The Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox had gone East and secured between \$800 and \$900 toward a new church, \$1,000 had been subscribed in Burlington when the vestry decided to build. A sudden rise in the river swept away many of the logs intended for the framing and the lumber for the church. There are 23 communicants, 13 families, 50 individuals, Sunday school 65, teachers 7. The church building contemplated would cost \$3,000.

*Manhattan, St. Paul's Church.* The death of the Rev. N. O. Preston was a great blow, but the people rallied and raised among themselves and their friends \$1,000 toward the completion of the church which he had built. There were 14 families, 18 communicants, when the Rev. J. H. Lee took charge, August 28th.

*Junction City and Fort Riley.* The Rev. Charles Reynolds, post chaplain, has succeeded in reorganizing what was once a flourishing parish and the bishop having obtained from the Church of the Covenant, Philadelphia, the sum of \$1,000 to be applied to repairing and completing the church, the name of the parish was changed in honor of their benefactors. The walls of this Gothic stone church were raised before the war, but the roof was imperfect and spreading by its own weight it carried off a part of the wall. A few friends in the



East have added \$500 and among themselves the people have raised an amount equal to the sum contributed abroad and with this amount hope to repair the walls, put on a new roof, floor the building including the chancel and robing room which has recently been added. Our church is often spoken of as the last in the missionary field. But it is worthy of note that the first sermon ever preached in this remote outpost was by a clergyman of our Church, that this parish was the first of any communion organized in that settlement, and that the Church of the Covenant is the first and only church building ever erected in the town. The Rev. Mr. Reynolds of Ft. Riley will give (as he has given for more than a year past) his services in this parish on Sunday afternoons, until the services of a resident minister or missionary shall be provided.

The Fort had a chapel which had been erected before the war by means provided by the private subscriptions of the officers and others. But the Government took possession for a storehouse. It has recently been restored for the uses for which it was designated and in the course of the past summer been so far finished and furnished as to be available for public worship. It is 25x50 Gothic stone, and stands on an elevated lot of its own. It is the most beautiful chapel connected with any of our military garrisons.

*Fort Scott, St. Andrew's.* The church which had been built in Chaplain Reynold's days as post chaplain, 1863 and 1864, had been turned over to the vestry, who with the aid of the ladies had caused it to be plastered. The bishop says this fine church is in its general style Gothic, 30x60, with a tower on one corner, in which are the door and vestibule. The tower is raised only one story and roofed but will in due time be completed according to the original plan. The parish is entitled to high praise for its perseverance and its energetic efforts to secure a house of prayer. It has never had a rector, and only for a short period in its history, of between one and two years, while the Rev. Mr. Reynolds was stationed as an army chaplain at this post, has it enjoyed the regular services of the church. The Rev. Joseph Miles Kendrick of Ohio has accepted a call as rector.

Wm. H. Warner, senior warden at Fort Scott, made the report: families, 9, communicants 5, Sunday school pupils 20, teachers 5; amount received for the year \$981.85. The church edifice is completed except the seating.

*Topeka, Grace Church.* The Rev. J. N. Lee has held the rectorship a little over a year, coming here June 11, 1865. Forty-eight communicants were added. The church is now complete with the exception of the tower. The ladies have carpeted the church, and ex-

pect to furnish the chancel. The rector now reports: families 40; individuals 200; baptisms 12; confirmed 27, communicants 73; contributions for parochial purposes \$775, for extra-parochial \$71. A furnace costing \$500 is on its way from the East.

*The Female Seminary*, also under the care of Mr. Lee is flourishing. The attendance during the term which closed in June was between 70 and 80, of whom 10 were boarders. Improvement and repairs costing \$3,500 were made by means secured by the Bishop in the East. This is still the building on the corner of 9th and Topeka. Plans for improving and preparing the 20 acre tract are considered. While a little in advance of the history it may be well to here note that up to this time but little effort had been made to extend the influence of the seminary beyond the city of Topeka but during the nine years' administration of the Rev. J. N. Lee it was patronized from throughout the State and Bethany students have been the seed of the Church in many places. It is also of interest to note that the very day that President Buchanan signed the act admitting Kansas as a State, the legislature of Kansas passed the act of incorporation under the title of "The Episcopal Seminary of Topeka." Gov. Medary returned the bill with his objections, and the legislature reconsidered and passed the bill over the governor's veto—the last act of the Territorial period. The incorporators were Rev. N. O. Preston, Rush Elmore, Wilson Shannon, Cyrus K. Holliday, J. M. Bodine, Geo. Fairchild and J. E. Ryan. The first charter obtained by Mr. Callaway had been for the Episcopal Seminary of Tecumseh. In 1870 a new charter changes the name to "College of the Sisters of Bethany."

*Prairie City and Heber Institute.* The Bishop asked that the action of a previous convention be rescinded, as there are still hopes of reviving this work.

*Lecompton.* "There had been for several years past, in the hands of a resident of this town, a large and very handsomely bound Bible and Prayer Book for use in the desk, and also a set of vessels for the communion services, once owned by the parish now defunct, St. Luke's Church \* \* \* . Accordingly I took these things in charge, at the wish of the donors, and have loaned them to other churches where they were needed. There are one or two Church families still residing in the village."

The bishop acknowledges the gift from the Pittsburg and Alleghany Prayer Book Society of a very timely donation of between five and six hundred Prayer Books, which have been distributed among the parishes, and have been of great benefit. And 400 from the Bishop White Prayer Book Society of Philadelphia which have not yet been distributed.

"After the adjournment of the convention, on Friday morning, Sept. 14, 1866, a convocation was organized with the following brief constitution. This convocation shall be called the First Convocation of Kansas. Meetings shall be held at the call of the bishop. The first meeting shall be held in St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte, beginning on the evening of the second Tuesday of October, 1866."

## X.

The convention of 1866 had adopted a new constitution which set the date of the convention "on the second Wednesday in May" instead of September, hence this convention year had but eight months.

Just before the meeting of the convention of 1866 Bishop Vail resigned the rectorship of Trinity Church, Atchison, and the Rev. John Bakewell was elected in his stead. The bishop spent the month of September at home in Atchison; about the middle of October went East where he superintended the publication of the last journal and the constitution and canons; attended other business connected with the interests of the diocese and returned about the middle of November. This was timed so as to join a large excursion of capitalists interested in various railway enterprises in the State. These visitors spent Sunday in Atchison and the bishop made them an address of welcome, commending the religious necessities of our border diocese to their Christian sympathy and regard. "On the same day I had the pleasure of listening to an able sermon from one of the excursionists—the Rev. S. H. Tying, Jr., rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, in the city of New York. It was interesting to me to see how powerfully the missionary demands of this western frontier impressed themselves upon the mind and heart of this zealous and energetic young brother, when he came to look upon the country and to realize the wonderful future that is to be developed here." "I went with the company on their return East, as far as St. Louis, and had the satisfaction of communicating to several of them and especially to some gentlemen of the press, who were with the party, some information in regard to the material, educational, and religious interests of our State—such as is not yet to be procured from books, and as can be given only by persons actually familiar with these interests, by personal association with them." (Bp.'s Address.)

The effect of these will be seen later. Because he could create an interest in domestic missions and particularly in the Kansas field the bishop again accepted the invitation from the standing committee of the diocese of Pennsylvania to make their annual visitations, which

took four months from December 20th, 1866, to Easter, April 21st, 1867. Upon 93 occasions, he confirmed 1,114 persons. Among the men ordained was a deacon for Kansas, the Rev. Charles Edward Davis Griffith, who about a year later became a very active missionary in the Kaw valley.

The Bishop issued a circular letter this year, "To the clergy and laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Kansas" on the subject of ritualism. We may quote a few sentences only. "There are two sorts of ritualistic innovations—those which have reference to aesthetics, the cut and color of vestments, postures, symbolisms, etc., and those which have reference to the essential doctrine of the Church. So far as the former do not directly or indirectly affect the faith, they are, although for many reasons objectionable, yet in themselves of comparatively little importance." Nor does the bishop take serious objection to "turning towards the Lord's Table in the forms of prayer and praise in the morning and evening prayer, in doxologies, and in certain other places besides those in the communion services, in which for special reasons it is prescribed by certain rubrics of that service." But he objected to the use of the name altar, and that doctrine of the sacraments which makes it a sacrifice. This circular included the declaration of "The Twenty Eight Bishops" on "Ritualism", who sum up their arguments with "And we, therefore, consider that in this particular national Church, any attempt to introduce into the public worship of Almighty God usages that have never been known, such as the use of incense, and the burning of lights in the order for the Holy Communion; reverences to the holy table or the elements thereon, such as indicate or imply that the sacrifice of our Divine Lord and Savior, "once offered" was not a "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world;" the adoption of clerical habits hitherto unknown, or material alterations of those which have been in use since the establishment of our episcopate; is an innovation which violates the discipline of the Church, "offendeth against the common order, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the conscience of the weak brethren." "Furthermore, that we be not misunderstood, let it be noted that we include in these censures, all departures from the laws, rubrics, and settled order of this Church, as well by defect as by excess of observance, designing to maintain in its integrity the sound scriptural and primitive and, therefore, the catholic and apostolic spirit of common prayer".

This was signed by Bishops Kemper of Wisconsin, Williams of Connecticut, and Coxe of West New York as well as by Cummins of Kentucky, but when the latter made these things or a part of them



his excuse for withdrawing from this Church, he had not the sympathy of the bishop of Kansas, and in time some at least were authorized and others were accepted as a matter of course. So that at the date of writing this history, there are no churches in Kansas which do not have an altar, with cross and the season's colors, few only lack the lights, wafer breads, eucharistic vestments, and all ministers wear the cassock surplice and colored stoles, and in a few instances there is the use of incense and all the genuflections.

The position of the missionary work in the diocese remained unchanged, and the points which might have been occupied successfully by this Church had passed into other hands. For lack of funds, no new missionaries had been appointed up to the time of the convention.

The diocesan Female Seminary had an enrollment of 101 this year with an average attendance of 70, nineteen of whom were boarding pupils. The total receipts were \$5,608.33, the expenditures \$5,576.75 making for the first time a little more than its expenses. For repairs and improvements there had been expended \$3,561.09 to meet which the bishop had loaned \$2,700. A bank had loaned \$150, and the sum of \$390 had been donated from the East, leaving a deficit of \$321.09. Besides this from the preceding year there remained a deficit of \$587, or a total indebtedness of \$3,608.09, and to this was the necessity of improving the twenty acre tract four blocks west of the capitol according to the contract of donation. We shall see how this situation was met a little later.

The congregation of Trinity Church, Atchison, still worshipped in the "hall", "the surroundings of which were most forbidding; beneath was a saloon; alongside, the city jail; while above was a theatre." The Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists worshipped in good buildings of their own. Two monuments of past failures could be seen in different parts of the town. In South Atchison, a rifled and demolished cornerstone bore mute testimony to an unfinished effort, while in North Atchison on the lot adjacent to the parsonage were the remains of a church foundation in complete outline, which had long furnished a sort of quarry for any chance builder.

Such were the conditions when Bishop Vail took charge of the parish as described by the Rev. John Bakewell for the Rev. Francis White's "Story of a Kansas Parish." He goes on to say: "Yet amid these discouragements many things argued well for the future. Atchison was at this period one of the three points on the Missouri River where freighting was carried on on an extensive scale. Immense caravans laden with freight for Pike's Peak and Denver started on their

way across the prairie. Many prominent citizens of the town were of our faith. Among these were the families of Judge A. G. Otis, Col. Wm. Osborn, builder of the railroad, General B. F. Stringfellow, Richard and Stanton Park, Judge A. H. Horton, Senator Ingalls, and later Judge Graham, the Spauldings, Birds, Buttons, Everests, Parkers, Blish, Mize, Fox, and others.

"In the fall of 1866 the ground was broken for the church edifice (no cornerstone being laid this time) \* \* \* . In the spring of 1867 contracts were let for the building. Pine lumber being \$100 per 1,000 feet, the black walnut at \$40 was naturally preferred \* \* \* . In the fall, the money not being forthcoming for permanent seats, cottonwood benches were knocked together that the building might be entered and consecrated. The evening before, the Rev. J. M. Kendrick, then rector of St. Paul's, Leavenworth, (afterwards made bishop of New Mexico) helped the rector oil and polish the chancel furniture \* \* \* . The next year black walnut pews were placed in the church and one forever set apart in memory of the rector.

"The impetus given at this time to Trinity Parish has been kept up ever since, the church taking its stand as one of the most important in the West. This is evidenced by the fact that two rectors have been elected bishops. Abiel Leonard, and Francis K. Brooke."

St. Paul's, Wyandotte, has since the first of the month, the Reverend Archibald Beatty.

St. Andrew's, Burlington, lacked \$1,000 to complete the church. The rector continued to give services at Leroy and Emporia, and had gone several times to Burlingame. He also had services six miles in the country at Big Creek.

St. Andrew's, Fort Scott, had secured the services of the Rev. J. M. Kendrick the preceding fall. He reported at the convention—"Families 18, individuals (not included in any family) 11, communicants last report 5, added 5, present number 9, Sunday school, total 64. Contributions for improvements and furnishings \$603.25, for Domestic Board \$7.45.

The Church of the Covenant, Junction City, still contented itself with such services of the Rev. Charles Reynolds as he was able to give them from his duties as chaplain at Fort Riley. These were much interrupted because of the inability to cross the Republican river, and he urged the need of a resident pastor. There were only 16 families and parts of families and ten Communicants.

St. Paul's Church, Leavenworth, continued to be the strongest

parish in the diocese; families 72, individuals 18, communicants 70. The contributions included diocesan missions, domestic missions, Nashota, as well as a payment of \$450 on the church debt, etc., but the parish was in arrears with the diocese to the pastor's regret. Beginning with Advent 1866, the Rev. J. H. Egar had begun a weekly communion. During the summer an organ of superior quality was placed in this church.

Trinity Church, Lawrence, continued to grow under the Rev. R. W. Oliver and now had 33 families and 100 individuals not so included and 38 communicants. There began to be a feeling that a new and much larger church must be built.

St. Paul's Church, Manhattan, under the Rev. J. H. Lee, who was also professor in the State Agricultural College, while showing a loss in number of communicants because of removals, shows a great increase in individuals, and the rector had enough prepared for confirmation to double the communicant roll, when the bishop should come, and this he did, as the next year's report shows an increase from 14 to 40.

Grace Church, Topeka, under the Rev. J. N. Lee, who was also principal of the Female Seminary, which had nearly doubled its roll the preceding year, shows a loss of 15 by removal and death. The parish had doubled its previous contributions towards the rector's salary.

St. Paul's Church, Wyandotte. More removals than arrivals puts the communicant roll down to 9, still the rector, the Rev. A. Betty, has faith to look forward to better things, and the next year he is rewarded by more than a hundredfold increase.

Directly after the convention this year (May 10th, 1867) the bishop spent one month with his family doing such duties as offered him by the rector at Trinity Church, Atchison. On the first Sunday in June he began his annual visitations by confirming a class here. On the following Sunday at Manhattan he confirmed a class of 27 and on Tuesday two more were added, making 29 the result of the rector following up the results of a revival meeting in the town.

The next Sunday was spent at Ft. Riley and Junction where he confirmed four. Wednesday, June 19, he made his first visit to Ottawa and in a public hall loaned to him by the Methodists he held the first services of this Church held in this place. After that visit regular services were held by the Rev. Mr. Griffith.

Sunday, June 23, at Grace Church, Topeka, in the morning he addressed the Sunday school, and confirmed 7. In the evening he preached. He attended the examination in the Female Seminary and on Wednesday delivered the graduating address.

The conditions at Topeka were prosperous at this time. In the latter part of October, 1867, the rector, the Rev. J. N. Lee had gone East to procure funds for the Seminary. He was so successful in the four months that he was able to pay off debts for repairs and other outstanding obligations of the institution which had been a source of anxiety for some time.

The bishop felt that the time had now come when the parish and the seminary should each have the entire time of a man. In 1866 when making extensive repairs and improvements on the seminary building Mr. Jay Cooke of Philadelphia, who had before presented the bishop \$1,000 for the seminary, loaned in addition some money to meet these expenses. Last autumn he generously remitted the balance, some \$1,500, thus making \$2,500 from this generous friend.

The parish in consideration for its rectorial right and title in the seminary building and property accepted \$3,000 and a certain lot of land owned by the seminary. \$2,000 of this was given by Mr. John D. Wolfe of New York, to whom we shall find the diocese indebted for other liberal gifts. The Church of the Atonement, New York City, gave the bishop \$1,000 for the seminary and one-half was used to fence the twenty acre tract. The Church of St. Paul, Leavenworth, installed an organ of superior quality, but it had not finished its church, and a debt is giving considerable anxiety. Here the bishop confirmed 9 upon the 14 of July. And now the bishop spends six weeks with his family, and remarks that it is the longest period he has spent with his family since his consecration to the episcopate.

A chapter from the Acts of an Apostle: On August 27th, I started for Southern Kansas. On Thursday, with the Rev. Mr. Oliver, went to Paola. On Friday, went with Mr. Oliver to Spring Hill to enquire after the family of a clerical brother canonically belonging to the diocese of Indiana and now residing in Johnston County. Returning we held services in Paola. The congregation in the hall where we assembled, and for which we were indebted to the Methodists, were entirely unacquainted with the Prayer Book, and I read the Evening Prayer paging and explaining it as we proceeded, while Mr. Oliver distinctly responded, and led the voices of others who desired to unite with us in our worship.

Sunday, Sept. 1, Fort Scott. At 9 o'clock A. M. attended the African Sunday school organized by the Rev. J. M. Kendrick, and addressed the school. These children, and with them several adults, meeting in an old building formerly occupied as a school room, and the faithful pastor is trying quietly but effectively in this way, to



carry the blessings of religious knowledge to those so needy, and who have providentially been thrown, with such a claim of pity and of justice upon the duty and the compassion of the American Church.

In St. Andrew's Church, the interior of which is now quite finished and suitably provided with the necessary furniture, at 11 o'clock A. M. I preached and confirmed one person, the first confirmation ever held in Fort Scott, and administered the Holy Communion. At 4 P. M. I met the Sunday school and addressed them. At this afternoon at the request of the rector I baptized four children. In the evening at 7:30 P. M. after Evening Prayer I preached.

The Sunday duties of my reverend brother at Fort Scott are thus proved to be very laborous. In the week he attends the parish school which he has instituted, under the care of an excellent lady, and which he superintends, devoting to it from two to four hours each day.

After spending Monday and Tuesday at Fort Scott and visiting the people with the rector, I started on Wednesday to Coffey County. At Humboldt, I called upon two other families \* \* \*. The Rev. Mr. Kendrick.

Friday and Saturday were spent in Burlington, partly in visiting the people and partly in correspondence. On Saturday evening after divine service preached in the school room now used as a Methodist church. On Sunday morning in the same place preached and administered the Holy Communion. In the evening preached and confirmed two persons. The rector of St. Andrew's expected to have some ten or more candidates but because of the prevailing sickness the number was reduced to only two.

On Monday afternoon, after a ride through the rain, I was again in Ottawa, where I spent the evening in conversation upon the subject of establishing our Church in that town.

On Tuesday I reached Lawrence where I struck the railroad and at nine o'clock that night, reached my home in Atchison. I had been gone two weeks, and had traveled over four hundred miles, chiefly by stages \* \* \* sometimes in the rain, sometimes under the burning southern sun, and most of the time through a country where malaria at that season filled the atmosphere, and sickness was in almost every house.

The bishop had received a letter from Locust Grove asking for services, so Sept. 15 he took service books and went to see these four families. He baptized three children and arranged for the rector of Atchison to visit them with occasional services.

The next week he went to Lawrence and arranged for an epis-

cial residence feeling that this was the center of his work and because of its railroad the most natural headquarters. The 20th of October he was settled in his new home and attended the closing services of the rectorship of the Rev. R. W. Oliver. Immediately after the resignation of Mr. Oliver the bishop arranged with the vestry to act as rector pro tem. The Rev. John K. Dunn of Michigan has accepted the call to this parish to begin in the month of June.

After several other visitations the bishop holds services for the first time within the walls of the Church of the Covenant, Junction City, February 16th. The building was not completed, neither plastered, pewed nor furnished. A table upon the chancel platform served the purpose of a reading desk and pulpit. The congregation sat upon plain benches.

The Rev. Chas. Reynolds who has been devoting his mornings to this church for some time presented a class of six for confirmation. This was the first confirmation ever held in this town.

Sunday, March 15th. The bishop opened Trinity Church, Atchison. It was not ready for consecration.

After a visitation of Missouri for Bishop Hawks, who lay at death's door, and who died April 19, 1868, the bishop returned to his own diocese, and at Atchison confirmed 7 on the evening of the 21st.

After the funeral of Bishop Hawks and a meeting of the Board of Missions in St. Louis the bishop on the 10th of May held the second confirmation service in the Church of the Covenant and six more prominent citizens were added to the Church.

The ninth annual convention of the diocese was held at Manhattan in St. Paul's Church, May 13 and 14. The bishop at this time delivered as his triennial charge, an address on the Christian education of the children of our flocks. He emphasized the duty of pastors and parents to teach the children the catechism, the importance of the Sunday school as auxiliary to the preaching, and the establishment of parochial and diocesan schools. Not disparaging the public school system but the religious side of the education of the child cannot be given under the existing conditions, and it is necessary to the full development of the mind. The establishment of parochial schools is a measure of self-defense.

It will be noted that the addition to Trinity Church, Lawrence, had been made by Mr. Oliver to provide for a parochial school, that there were also parish schools at Fort Scott and Wyandotte and that the primary grades of the Seminary always has been the parish school.

New missions had been opened this year at Baxter Springs and

Erie, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Kendrick of Ft. Scott; at Ottawa, Oscaloosa, and at Ellsworth under the Rev. C. E. D. Griffith. The Rev. Mr. George, lately of Missouri, was conducting services at Wathena, White Cloud, Troy, Hiawatha, and occasionally at other places in the northern tier of counties. Several clergy were working in the neighborhoods of their parishes as at Wamego, Tecumseh, Williamstown, LeRoy, Emporia, Prairie City.

At this time the general Board of Missions found it necessary to retrench and the diocese received only \$900 for the year. The bishop complained that Kansas was as much a missionary field as Colorado, Nebraska, or New Mexico, having the same class of population. Even Missouri with its large city of St. Louis received \$3,000, but Kansas \$900.

In this emergency he called upon the American Church Missionary Society, which had inaugurated several missions in this diocese before his election and had since sustained them, and it came to his aid.

A glance at the parochial reports reveals that the following parishes took offerings for the General Board in 1866: Topeka, Lawrence, Leavenworth, and in 1868 Fort Scott and Lawrence (Foreign Committee); and to the American Church's Missionary Society, Atchison and Lawrence.

The General Board no doubt felt that as the American Church's Missionary Society was helping this field, they could better help where the other would not.

The bishop had this year two lay readers at work who were later admitted to holy orders, Mr. Edward B. Church and Mr. Daniel W. Cox, a professor in Lincoln College, Topeka. The former was under the Rev. Charles Reynolds at Junction City, and the latter assisted the Rev. J. H. Lee at Manhattan, Wamego, etc.

The parishes exhibit healthy growth for the year. Atchison had 40 communicants and 56 families, and had expended \$7,102.63 besides rector's salary. Fort Scott had 14 communicants, but there were 22 families and 92 individuals connected with the parish, and a parish Sunday school of 43, a freedmen's Sunday school of 40 and a parish school. It had expended for parochial purposes \$365.25 and extra-parochial \$51.10.

Burlington had 21 communicants, 20 families and 10 individuals. Junction City, families and individuals 17, communicants 23.

Lawrence, families 40, communicants 62, individuals 30, Sunday school 102; contributions parochial, \$800.41; extra-parochial, \$220.

Leavenworth, families 80, communicants 84, Sunday school 105; contributions \$2,129.

Manhattan, families 26, individuals 80, communicants 40, Sunday school 48; contributions exclusive of salary, \$263.30.

Topeka, families 30, individuals 200, communicants 58, Sunday school 73; contributions, \$167.53 not including salary.

Wyandotte, families 31, individuals 75, communicants 20, Sunday school 67; contributions, \$123.50 not including salary.

Fort Leavenworth had at this time 8 families, 11 communicants, and a Sunday school of 28. The Rev. Mr. Hiram being ordered to Fort Sully, Dakota, this is his last report.

Fort Riley report contains no statistics.

The fifth year in the episcopate: On the three Sundays in May following the last convention the bishop acted as rector of the Church at Lawrence, on the first of these confirming two persons brought by the Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox from Leroy.

On the second and third Sundays he supplied at St. Paul's, Leavenworth, while the rector was in the East. Baptized one and confirmed two at the Fort.

Sunday, June 28, the rector presented a class of 16 and on Monday and Tuesday attended the examinations at the Seminary. These were the first examinations of candidates for priests' orders since his entrance upon the work.

On Sunday, July 5th, the Rev. John K. Dunn entered upon his work as rector of Trinity Church, Lawrence.

On Friday, July 17, the Rev. Charles E. D. Griffith was ordained priest in Trinity church, Lawrence, and besides five clergy of the diocese, the Rev. Karl Karlen of the Swedish national Episcopal Church participated in the laying on of hands. Two days later Professor D. W. Cox was ordained to the diaconate at Grace Church, Topeka.

Another apostolic journey in primitive style: Monday, July 20. Started this morning the Rev. J. N. Lee, the Rev. A. Beatty, and a young man a relative as driver. The turnout was an ambulance or spring wagon drawn by two horses. A saddle horse had been brought along to lighten the load and to give change of posture and of exercise to the travelers. On the rack behind were fastened their valises or traveling bags. Under the seat was a small box of crackers, some dried beef, a little coffee, tea and sugar, a small tea kettle and tin cups, so they might cook and eat by the way. Two buffalo robes made cushions by day and beds at night. A bag of corn for the horses while the grass would furnish the hay.

Appointments had been made by correspondence two or three weeks in advance, for religious services nearly every night of some three or four weeks. The party reached Burlington about 6 p. m.



The day had been exceedingly hot, the friend to whom had been entrusted the arrangements for services found no suitable place and concluded not to announce a public service till a more favorable time. They found no Episcopalians but spent the evening in conversation and particularly with a sick young man whom they tried to prepare for eternity. The road from this point being long and rough, they concluded to travel part way by night, so about 10 p. m. they started out and drove till after half past twelve, when they drove out on the prairie after watering their horses at a stream, and lariatied them out and went to bed, one in the wagon, one under the wagon, and two on a buffalo robe on the grass under shawls. At 5 a. m. they were again on the road, and after making a halt of three or four hours in the middle of the day, reached Council Grove, at the head of the Neosho valley about six in the evening. On the way they stopped at a house about eight miles from Council Grove where the accompanying clergy had baptized two children upon a similar trip a year before. Here another little one awaited them, which the bishop baptized, the mother and Mr. Lee standing as sponsors. At Council Grove they were again disappointed in not finding arrangements made for services. There was one Church family here.

Wednesday evening, July 22. Reached Cottonwood Falls, the county seat of Chase County. At night we had services in the schoolhouse, when all the clerical party made addresses. The schoolhouse was full. On the next evening we had services again and addresses by Mr. Beatty and myself. Mr. Lee had gone on to a point 18 miles south, where he held services and preached to an equally large congregation in a schoolhouse at Valley Farm, near Matfield. I found three or four persons familiar with our Church services and attached to our Church, one or two of them being communicants.

Friday evening, July 24th, we were at Emporia, the shire town of Lyon County. Here is the State Normal School, where one hundred and fifty scholars are annually present. We have been waiting three or four years for the suitable man, and the means to support him, in this beautiful and influential town, of 2,000 or 2,500 inhabitants. How long are we to wait losing our capital opportunities? This evening at the courthouse, we held services and I preached. We have several families and communicants here.

On Saturday we went down the Neosho valley to Burlington, in Coffey county, thirty miles, cooking our dinner under the shade of an oak by the way. In the evening we held service in the new church at Burlington. Here we did as we have to do in several of our Kansas churches. The people with some help abroad, had raised

the walls, roofed and floored the church. But their means were expended. Plain cottonwood benches were used for seats; a plain unfinished rail for the chancel and a plain table, with a temporary reading desk and pulpit, constitute the furniture, while they waited for further means to complete the church. Mr. Lee preached and the bishop made an address. The Rev. Wm. H. Hickcox missionary in the Neosho valley, welcomed us to his home, and in due time distributed us among his people.

Sunday, July 26th, at Burlington. Services in the church morning and night, and in the afternoon at a schoolhouse eight miles distant. Holy Communion in the morning. At night confirmed one person. It was a busy and interesting day, so that the people urged us to return and spend another Sunday among them; and some candidates for confirmation presented their names to the missionary. So we promised to be with them again in two weeks.

On Monday we went to Leroy, where we held service in the evening in the Methodist church. I preached, confirmed three persons, and addressed them. The house was full. I had previously confirmed two from Leroy at Lawrence, one of whom has since died.

At 11 o'clock that night we started south. For a mile our ride was through the dense woods of the Nesho Bottom. The moon was set. It was a starlight through the tree tops, but very dark below us. One small wagon and two friends had joined us. One of these friends, who accompanied us from Burlington, wearing a white linen coat, walked before us, the white coat guiding the ambulance, on the back of which a white cloth was hung to guide the wagon following. And thus we picked our way through the woods out to the open prairie. At half past three in the morning we stopped, drove down our pins, put lariats to our horses, and went to bed on the grass. The bishop shared a buffalo robe with one of his presbyters covering himself with a shawl which once belonged to Bishop Bowman, and which he calls his missionary shawl. And in this way he on all the other nights when our party camped out fared as well as his brethren; for none of us counted it a hardship, except on the latter part of our journey, when the nights began to be quite cold, and the dews made our blankets very wet.

On the next morning, after sleeping some two hours, we went into the village of Neosha Falls, in Woodson county, where we called upon a lady, the only member of our Church in the township. We met her two weeks later on our return to Burlington.

That evening we reached Humboldt, in Allen county. We had sent a notice which had not been received, and had no service. The mem-

bers of the only Church family in the place were absent; and at ten o'clock we moved on and forded the river, and camped out as before on the prairie.

The next afternoon we reached Erie, in Neosha county, on the Indian neutral lands, and that evening held services in the school-house where Mr. Beatty preached, and the bishop made an address. Here we found three or four families of our Church, and some half dozen communicants. In the house of some of these we were all kindly entertained. On the next morning, at half past seven o'clock, in the same place we had the morning service, when the bishop preached and administered the Holy Communion. It was a service full of comfort to these faithful ones, as their flowing tears attested. One earnest communicant, living thirty miles distant, came with her little daughter to attend these services. After visiting the people, we went to the Osage missions which are to be found through the Indian country. No Indians live here now, and the Mission has changed into an important trading town. A zealous communicant of our Church residing here, and who has been licensed as a lay-reader, procured a hall, an empty story over a store, and going about from house to house, notified the people. We held the service, and the bishop preached to a crowded house. There are but two or three of our people here, but the citizens generally wish our services. Starting at about half past ten o'clock, we traveled some two hours, and again laid us down to sleep under the open sky. On the next day we journeyed on to Fort Scott, in Bourbon county, and again slept on the prairie. The next day (Saturday) we reached Fort Scott, where we all found a pleasant home at the house of the rector the Rev. J. M. Kendrick. That evening, service and sermon by the Rev. Mr. Lee.

After the Sunday services at St. Andrew's church, Ft. Scott, the forces divided. The Rev. Mr. Lee returning to Osage mission and Erie to prepare classes for confirmation, while the bishop and Mr. Beatty went further south to the Indian nation. A zealous friend, one of those just confirmed, furnished the horses and went himself as driver for the bishop's circuit. On Tuesday, Mr. Beatty read the services and the bishop preached at Baxter Springs. Here they found several families of the Church. They then went into the Indian nation and traveled west to Chetopa, and then northward through Labette to Montana, where they slept. These were all new towns of only a few months growth. At all they inquired for Church people. They found one at Chetopa, five or six families at Oswego, and at the latter the bishop appointed a lay reader.

On Thursday the bishop arrived at Osage mission where he

confirmed a sick man, and in the evening at Erie he baptized one adult and confirmed three.

On Friday they were off and going northwest through Humboldt they camped near Neosho Falls. The dews were heavy and the night was cold. Two slept in the wagon, the bishop and one of his presbyters under the wagon. Passing through Leroy, Mr. Lee stayed behind to hold services the next day, the bishop and others going on the Burlington.

Sunday, August 9th, at Burlington. The missionary and people had been busy during our absence. A number of candidates were waiting for confirmation. Some of them had been brought up under Baptist influences; and the missionary, who had not been accustomed to baptize by immersion, had reserved these for the bishop, who in his long ministry in Rhode Island, had often administered baptism in that form. The place selected was at the ford. On the banks and bluffs the spectators were gathered. Under the shade of a large tree stood three candidates and their witnesses, and with them came sponsors, with two children from two families to be baptized. The bishop in his linen surplice, conducted the service. And when the vows had been taken, and the confession of Christ had been made, he led them one by one, into the clear river, and there baptized them, and signing them with the sign of the cross, received them into the congregation; after which, taking the infants in his arms, one by one, he stepped with them into the stream, and poured the water upon them from his palm, and so baptized them. It was a very impressive and solemn service, and occupied only a half hour, closing at ten o'clock.

"At eleven o'clock was the regular service, and Mr. Beatty preached, and the bishop baptized a baby which had just been brought several miles for this purpose. In the evening, after the service at which Mr. Lee and the other clergy were present, the bishop preached and confirmed seven persons, and gave them charge in reference to their Christian duties and privileges. The house was crowded, and God seemed to be present with His blessing. May the Holy Spirit convert and sanctify those waiting souls."

On the next morning the party started home, Mr. Lee with his saddle horse making for Topeka, the others in the ambulance for Lawrence. That night they got lost on the Sac and Fox Reservation, and on the next night arrived home, having no more serious accidents than the breaking of a wheel of their spring wagon. They borrowed a farm wagon which was returned the next day.



The next Sunday found the bishop with the Rev. C. E. D. Griffith at Oskaloosa, where a mission had just been organized by the latter under the title of St. Paul's Church. Friday evening they were at Salina, which had not yet been organized. Here the bishop preached in the Methodist church, and the next morning confirmed at her home one person who because of illness could not get out to service. "Here is a germ of a parish, in some three or four communicants, and many of the people are quite desirous to see our Church established in the town. On the next day, Sunday, they were in Ellsworth, a mission recently opened by Mr. Griffith. The Indians had just committed their horrible atrocities in the Soloman settlements, and the one topic of excitement was the Indian war. Every man in town, except the clergymen, was armed with rifles or revolvers and at Ellsworth, as at all the railroad stations, the people were in momentary expectation of an attack by the savages. Yet in these circumstances we held divine service in the morning and evening, in the upper room over a store, and I confirmed six persons." During the year a store building was bought and moved to a lot which they had acquired and remodeled as a chapel.

Mr. Griffith falling ill returned home while the bishop went alone some 181 miles further west to Sheridan, which was 405 miles west of the Missouri. It was then only six weeks old, and had about 700 inhabitants. The houses were of every material, stone, brick, turf, board and canvas. The night before the bishop's arrival there had been a free for all fight in which two men had been killed. The one person whom the bishop expected to find was not in town, and the excitement of the Indian war made it unfavorable for a mission at this time so the bishop returned to Ellsworth and home.

Two Sundays later the bishop confirmed nine for the Rev. A. Beatty at St. Paul's, Wyandotte, who now resigned to take charge of St. Andrew's, Ft. Scott, as the Rev. J. M. Kendrick had accepted St. Paul's, Leavenworth. The Rev. L. L. Holden came in April to St. Paul's, Wyandotte, officiating also at Ottawa on alternate Sundays.

In an open wagon, the bishop and the Rev. Geo. Turner, missionary in the northern countries made a tour of these missions at Wathena, Troy, White Cloud, Hiawatha and Willow Grove. There were a few communicants in each of these places and services were held, and the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and holy communion administered.

A short time before the convention a non-Episcopal minister applied to be received as a candidate for holy orders, and the bishop loaned him a large package of books. Two weeks before he loaned

a similar package to a student in one of the Kansas colleges. Another non-Episcopal minister whose primary education was insufficient to become a candidate had also applied some two months previous, and now at this convention two persons—one a minister of some standing and the other a young man who had gone through most of the theological course required of candidates for holy orders, applied to the bishop in reference to their admission into the ministry of this Church. This matter was brought to the attention of the convention in the bishop's address. But no action was taken at this time.

The parish at Prairie City having gone out of existence because of the removal of its members, it was erased from the roll. The property which consisted of the school building was given into the hands of a committee to be sold and the money to be held for the order of the next convention.

The tenth convention of the diocese was held in Trinity Church, Atchison. The church was first consecrated at half past ten o'clock May 12, 1869, after which the usual services were held and the convention called to order.

There was organized at this time a committee called "The Protestant Episcopal Church Extension Committee." Its purpose to acquire at all suitable places possible in the diocese property for the use of the Church for church building purposes.

The progress as shown in the parishes:

*Atchison*, Trinity Church, the Rev. John Bakewell, Rector.

The numerical strength remains unchanged, but the church had been completed, the whole amount thus expended being \$13,039.44. For objects outside the parish \$297.90.

*Fort Scott*, St. Andrew's Church, Rev. A. Beatty, rector.

Communicants had increased to 23. We miss the freedmen's school but the parochial school seems to flourish, and a subscription of \$500 is in hand to erect "St. Andrew's Hall." The debt on the church had been reduced to \$150. The rector gracefully acknowledges the faithful labors of his predecessor.

*Brown and Doniphan* counties are reported by the Rev. Geo. Turner as having a total of 20 communicants.

*Burlington and Leroy*, the Rev. W. H. Hickcox, missionary.

St. Andrew's Church, communicants increased to 31; communion alms, and contributions, \$35.25.

The Rev. Mr. Hickcox severed his relation with this parish Dec. 27, 1868.

Leroy began services here in February. On Easter Monday fifteen persons met in his house and organized Calvary Church, and elected a

full vestry. Families 10, individuals 25; communicants 6. Services are held in the masonic hall. In the afternoon each Sunday Mr. Hickcox superintended a large union Sunday school.

*Junction City*, Church of the Covenant, Rev. Chas. Reynolds rector. Communicants 21, families and parts of families, 17.

Contributions for parish purposes .....	\$ 924.47
For purposes outside the parish .....	25.30
Present to Dr. Reynolds .....	120.00

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Total . . . . . 1,069.77

The Church edifice had been finished and partly furnished.

*Lawrence*, Trinity Church. Rev. John K. Dunn, rector.

The Communicant roll had now reached 73.

Contributions for parish purposes .....	\$355.91
For extra-parochial purposes .....	245.90

This does not include rector's salary. The parish school had increased to 70 pupils necessitating employing another teacher.

*Ellsworth*. The Rev. C. Reynolds held the first service, and C. E. D. Griffith took charge, alternating with Oskaloosa, communicants 6; at Salina 2; at Oskaloosa 6. The church at Ellsworth was secured through the effort of Mrs. Judge Miller at a cost of \$300.

*Leavenworth*, St. Paul's church, Rev. J. M. Kendrick, rector.

Communicants, 91. The whole number confirmed in the parish to date was 105.

Communion alms . . . . .	\$ 70.85
Contributions for parish purposes .....	524.75
For extra-parochial objects .....	222.85    \$818.45

Not including rector's salary.

To the Rev. J. H. Egar is given the credit of very much of what has been accomplished here.

*Manhattan and Wamego*, Rev. J. H. Lee, rector, Rev. D. W. Cox assistant. The report shows Families 27, individuals 112, communicants 50. Contributions for parish purposes, \$39, extra-parochial \$81.60.

*Topeka*, Grace Church, Rev. J. N. Lee rector.

Communicants, 80.

Contributions for Parish purposes, \$555. Communion alms \$55.20. For purposes outside the parish \$132.40, \$742.60. The increased attendance makes it necessary to enlarge the church.

*Wyandotte*, St. Paul's Church. Rev. L. L. Holden, rector. Fami-

lies and parts of families 33, communicants 30, contributions for parish purposes \$384.45, for purposes outside the parish \$14.40, communion alms \$16.50, total \$415.35.

The rector also holds services in Ottawa on alternate Sundays. The rectory being small it was resolved to enlarge it twice its present size, at a cost of \$500 for which \$400 has been subscribed.

In 1864 when the bishop was consecrated there were but 147 communicants in the Diocese. There were three small churches, one of which was complete, four others commenced just before the beginning of the war were standing without windows, or doors; with bare walls and broken and spreading roofs ready to fall.

There were now at the end of five years, in the diocese: Families, 363, individuals not included 539, communicants 486, church edifices 9. But as yet there were only five self-supporting parishes, and the Board of Missions was giving only \$900 for the work this year. Several new stations failed for lack of funds to sustain the missionaries, and other denominations having the advantage in this particular, soon had such strength in the communities that the Church has never been able to take her place.

ED. NOTE: Mr. Haupt's manuscript, part of the archives of General Convention, was left incomplete. For the benefit of the reader, we subjoin the following summary of Bishop Vail's episcopate after twenty years.

When Bishop Vail came to Kansas, January 1, 1865, there were three little churches in use—at Lawrence, Leavenworth and Wyandotte, and four others had been commenced—Fort Scott, Junction City, Manhattan and Topeka. By 1884 larger churches had taken the place of the first three and the four commenced by 1865 had been finished or rebuilt, and 25 entirely new churches had been added to the previous number, making a total of 32 churches built and paid for. In addition, 15 rectories had been built, 30 or more missions or preaching stations established, or a total of about 70 points existed in the diocese where the services of the Church were held with more or less regularity. Thirty-two clergymen were on the diocesan roll.

Christ Hospital, Topeka, had been founded, the ground, ten acres costing \$5,000, being the gift of Bishop and Mrs. Vail. The building cost \$11,000, of which \$5,500 was raised in Topeka and \$5,500 by the Bishop outside of Topeka, making the total cost \$16,000.

Bethany College for girls, Topeka, had proved a great success. It embraced four departments—kindergarten, primary, preparatory and collegiate. Over 300 girls were in attendance in 1883.

Bishop Vail died October 6, 1889.



## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Life and Letters of Bishop William White Together with the Services and Addresses Commemorating the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of His Consecration to the Episcopate.* Edited by Walter Herbert Stowe, President of the Church Historical Society. Church Historical Society Publication No. 9. Morehouse Publishing Co. 1937. Pp. 306.

Readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE were specially pleased with the "Bishop William White Number", which appeared in March, 1937. In none of the five years of its existence had the magazine rendered the Church a greater service; not even in the "Bishop Kemper Centennial Number", of September, 1935; nor in the "Bishop Seabury Sesqui-Centennial Number", of September, 1934. Particularly to be commended was the making available to the Church-at-large the article, "Ancestry and Early Life", taken from Bishop William Stevens Perry's unpublished "Life, Times and Correspondence of William White, D. D.", dated 1887, and lying in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. Other praiseworthy features of the Bishop White number of the magazine were the articles, "The Presbyterian", by the Rev. Walter H. Stowe; "The Teacher", by the Rev. Dr. James A. Montgomery, and the exhaustive "Bibliography", by the Rev. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley.

The article, "The Bishop", by the Rev. Dr. Louis C. Washburn, though ably written and presenting valuable new matter, we confess to have found disappointing, chiefly because of its brevity. No doubt, there is an idea, more or less prevalent, that Dr. White's life as bishop was little more than his life as presbyter writ large; and that the story of the one practically covers the story of the other. The idea is a mistaken one, for some of the most important work of his life was accomplished through his office as bishop; work that would have been impossible, even by a White, without episcopal standing and authority.

And now we have, thanks to the CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, and its President, who edits the book, a handsome volume embracing the contents of the magazine and combining with them much additional matter; the whole constituting a volume worthy the subject which gives it its name, and a contribution of inestimable value to Church history.

The principal additions (pages which do not appear in the magazine) are:

1. A preface, which describes the book as "the fruit of the recent commemorations of February 4, 1937, in Philadelphia and New York"; celebrating the consecration of Drs. White and Provoost to the episcopate.

2. Five illustrations, other than those appearing in the magazine.

3. Chapter IV, "Dr. White's Episcopate", by the Rev. William W. Manross, supplementing Dr. Washburn's article on "The Bishop", and presenting Bishop White as Presiding Bishop, as diocesan, and as rector and citizen.

4. Chapters VI and VII, which contain the programs, sermons and addresses had in connection with the commemorations in Philadelphia and New York.

5. Biographical Sketches of Archbishop Moore and the English Co-Consecrators.

It is, perhaps, inevitable, in a volume consisting of chapters by different authors writing independently of each other, that there be some repetition of matter and even duplication of passages. There is, for instance, a recounting, more than once or twice, of the event of the consecration of Drs. White and Provoost; and, at pages 76 and 136, a repeating the paragraph which gives Dr. Tyng's story of support he received at the hands of Bishop White. The repetitions, however, are few and serve to emphasize facts rather than detract from the merit of the book.

We wonder that there should appear in the chapter on Bishop White's Episcopate a somewhat lengthy account of him as rector; a section that might more properly belong, we would think, in the chapter, "The Presbyter".

We note but one error of statement, if it be error, and that is the referring (page 141) the publication of the pamphlet, "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered", to the date of 1783. It first appeared in 1782. A copy of the 1782 edition, printed by David C. Claypoole, Philadelphia, is in the DeLancey Divinity School Library.

We write not so much in the way of criticism as by way of comment. There is little that one would have otherwise than it is, in the entire three hundred pages.

The book is more an appraisal than a biography and so represents itself to be. It very properly places the bishop in the light of his times, that he may appear in the setting in which he lived and wrought. Some of the more valuable portions are the descriptions given of circumstances and conditions. To be noted are the paragraphs in "The Presbyter" which depict the state of the Church during and following

the Revolutionary War; and, especially, those in "The Teacher" which portray "The Environment". The latter form a section which gives within the scope of a dozen pages a condensed account of the intellectual world of Bishop White that, so far as we are informed, is not paralleled in so brief a space. While referring to the chapter, "The Teacher", let us further remark that the footnotes are particularly rich and full, indicating a wide acquaintance with the authorities and constituting, in themselves, a valuable bibliography of the subject.

Chapters VI and VII, which give the programs, sermons and addresses of the commemorations in Philadelphia and New York, not only preserve the record of historical events but continue the work of appraisal. They present the different estimates placed upon the bishop and his achievements by leading ecclesiastics and scholars of the present day. There is a marked unanimity in the evaluation of his services as a chief organizer of our National Church and as a writer, teacher, pastor of rare vision and courage. The picture resulting is a composite one, but it is clear and, we believe, true of the man it reveals.

G. SHERMAN BURROWS.

#### S. P. G. PUBLICATIONS.

1. *S. P. G. Archives Lectures*. 1936-37. Published for the Friends of the Archives by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. 15 Tufton Street, Westminster, S. W. I. 1937.

As is well known to students of the history of the Church in the American colonies from 1702 to 1783 the archives of the S. P. G. constitute a primary source. Of late years many of the documents have been collated and the work is not yet complete. The second lecture in this series is a fascinating account of "Life in Old Documents". Of the five lectures included in this publication, two are of special interest to American churchmen. The first is by Sir Edward Midwinter, whose visit here is still gratefully remembered, his subject being "The S. P. G. America", and is based upon manuscript and other records of the greatest possible value.

Mr. John W. Lydekker's Lecture on "The American and Colonial Episcopates" is an illuminating outline of the prolonged efforts made on both sides the Atlantic to secure for the Church in America the blessing of "a free and valid episcopate". He concedes the fact of John Talbot's consecration by one of the Non-juring bishops, but challenges its validity on the ground of the canonical lack of three bishops at the consecration. One wonders if Mr. Lydekker knows that the first Roman bishop for America, on whom subsequent consecrations were built, was himself consecrated by *one* bishop in England, and that too, in

private. Included in this volume is a remarkable lecture by Robson Lowe on "The Romance of the Empire Posts" illustrated by reproductions of stamps, postmarks and addressed envelopes of the early period.

2. *Two Missionary Voyages by Thomas Thompson, A. M. 1745-1756.*

Reproduced in Facsimile with Introduction and Notes, 1937.

This book was first published 150 years ago; then forgotten, only to be discovered in the library of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey, by Sir Edward Midwinter. In this reproduction the biographical sketch is written by Mr. John Lydekker, Archivist of the S. P. G. Thomas Thompson was a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and in January, 1745, was appointed S. P. G. missionary in Monmouth County, New Jersey, and six years later, at his own urgent request, he became the first missionary of the Society to the Gold Coast, in West Africa. Broken in health, he returned to England at the end of five years, and, it is interesting to note, became vicar of Reculver, Kent, a former parish of "good Master Robert Hunt", who ministered to the settlers on Jamestown Island in 1607. For details of the two Missionary Voyages one must turn to the record itself here reproduced. It is more than well worth reading.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

*The American Prayer Book. Its Origins and Principles.* By Edward Lambe Parsons, Bishop of California and Bayard Hale Jones, Department of Liturgics, Church Divinity School of the Pacific. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. 340.

We have waited ten years for a book on the evolution of the American Book of Common Prayer. We are now rewarded by the publication of this volume, the joint production of Bishop Parsons and Professor Bayard Hale Jones—a book which is a model of English style; scholarly, but not abstruse. It outlines the accepted results of that modern liturgical research which has made such great strides during the past few years. One of its outstanding values is the broad sketch of the background of our Book of Common Prayer and its relation to the Liturgies of other churches, bringing out the significant fact that, liturgically, "we are part of all that we know".

Beginning with an introduction on worship and common worship, it goes on to deal with the ancestry of the Prayer Book; the development of the English Book; the American Book and the later English and Scotch revisions. Under this head it may be suggested that the treatment of the "proposed Book" of 1785 might profitably have been expanded.



The large third section covers the choir offices, the litany, and an extended treatment of the rites of the Holy Communion, to which is added the Ordinal and the occasional offices. The last section is a well-balanced and impartial discussion of ritual and ceremonial, including the controverted questions of rubrical authority and the liturgical authority of the bishop, and the even more difficult question of the regulation of ceremonial, for which, the authors say, "there are no canonical regulations" in America.

From this meagre outline it may be gathered how comprehensive this volume is; moreover, it is absolutely free from anything approaching to ecclesiastical bias.

A glossary of liturgical terms and a bibliography add materially to its value.

No clergyman of this Church who desires an intelligent interest in the conduct of divine worship can afford to be without this book, and its clarity of style will make it equally appealing to the laity.

This reviewer suggests that these authors should now go one step further in the way of a supplementary volume indicating the origins of the collects and other offices, especially those appearing in our Revision of 1928.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

*Old Historic Churches of America. Their Romantic History and Their Traditions.* By Edward F. Rines. Published under the Auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. 373.

This sumptuous and beautifully illustrated volume is the outcome of a visit paid by the author in 1931 to old St. Paul's Chapel, in the City of New York, and to Christ Church, Alexandria, Virginia. Then followed a pilgrimage of five years to the old historic churches scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Many of them were photographed; old records were examined, and, as far as possible, traditions were verified. It was a catholic pilgrimage ranging from the old colonial churches of the English establishment in Virginia; the Meeting Houses of New England; the Quaker Meeting Houses of Pennsylvania; the Swedish churches of Delaware to the Roman Catholic cathedrals and churches of Maryland and Missouri, and the Missions of Arizona and California. The net result has been the gathering together in one volume the main outline of the origin and development of churches which have earned the right to be called "historic", the whole constituting an invaluable and permanent record. In a work of this kind some errors are inevitable. On page 148 the author gives 1679 as the

date of the charter of Trinity Church, New York; the actual date was 1697; on page 138 he gives 1696 as the year of the erection of the same church. The records show that the contract for the building was signed on June 3, 1697, and it was opened for divine service on March 12, 1698. There is one recurring unfortunate phrase, e. g., "the Revd. Barclay". One expects such slipshod phraseology in the yellow press, but not in a serious contribution to literature. The illustrations are beyond praise and there is an excellent bibliography, and—thanks to whatever gods there be—an equally excellent index.

*The Founding of St. Peter's Church at Van Cortlandtville, and a Sketch of the Subsequent History of St. Peter's in the Manor Cortlandt.* By William Merle d'Aubigne Carhart, M. D. September 12, 1937.

A brief but interesting sketch of a church which was opened for divine worship in August 1767, and is still used for occasional services.

*St. Mary's Hall Centennial 1837-1937. Programs and Addresses.* Published by The Trustees of Burlington College, Burlington, New Jersey.

An account of the Proceedings and Addresses at the Centennial of St. Mary's established by Bishop George Washington Doane in 1837. Among the Addresses is one on The Bishop by Dr. Cook, Bishop of Delaware; one on "The Road to Freedom," delivered by Dr. W. A. Eddy, the new President of Hobart College; another by Dr. Mary E. Wooley, President of Mount Holyoke College, together with an Address by the Rev. Walter H. Stowe, associate editor of this MAGAZINE.

*Index to Tanner's History of the Diocese of Minnesota. 1937.*

Readers of Historical books are greatly handicapped by the absence of a good index. Dr. Tanner's valuable book lacked this essential. That lack has now been made good by the work of the Reverend Dr. Francis L. Palmer who has added a list of other sources for the history of the Church in Minnesota. Thank you, Dr. Palmer.

*Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason.* By Ernest C. Mossner, New York. Macmillan. 1936. xv, 271 pages. \$2.50.

The author, who is a teacher of English literature, has, in this book, ventured into the field of the history of thought, religious and otherwise, and has done a remarkably good job. His exposition of the views of theologians and philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is capable, lucid, and readable, and his familiarity with the literature of the times enables him to illuminate these "climates of opinion" by apt quotations from contemporary poets and essayists.

After a chapter on Bishop Butler's life we are introduced to the Latitudinarians and the Deists; then to Butler's defense of revealed religion against the Deists in his *Analogy*, and his ethical system as given in his sermons. This is followed by an account of the decline of the age of reason into the scepticism of Hume on the one hand and the "enthusiasm" of Wesley on the other. Finally there is a resume of Butler's influence in later times.

Although the book obviously deals with the history of English thought, it is intimately related to American church history, for both Deism and Butler's arguments against it had wide influence on this side of the Atlantic—witness Tom

Paine's *Age of Reason*, the deistic religion of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson, and the prolonged use of Butler's *Analogy* as a theological text book.

—J. A. MULLER.

*Those Paris Years with the World at the Cross-Roads.* By Samuel N. Watson, D. D., Officer of the Legion of Honor, France; Chevalier of the Order of Leopold, Belgium; Commander of the Order of Saint Sava, Serbia. With Introduction by Will Irwin. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, London and Edinburgh. Limited Edition. Pp. 347.

Comparatively few men have had the varied experiences which fell to the lot of Dr. Watson, and fewer have the ability to describe them in so charming a manner and with such a keen sense of humor. The son of a parson, born in Iowa, he lived in Minnesota; attended Shattuck School, graduated from Trinity College, Hartford; taught at the Seabury Divinity School and at the University of the South sat under the teaching of Dr. Du Bose. In 1893 he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. The second half of this book contains the account of the ministry of Dr. Watson as rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, in Paris, whither he went in 1913. It is a fascinating story of adventure and heroic service in the dark days of the War and of friendships with men like Myron Herrick, the American ambassador and such representative Frenchmen as President Poincare, Herriott and Paul Painleve. The book abounds in pen pictures of such men as Bishop Lee of Iowa, Bishop Clarkson of Nebraska, Bishop Whipple of Minnesota, and "John of Connecticut", otherwise Bishop John Williams. Dr. Watson has given us a book of contemporary history for which we should be deeply grateful.

*Mackay of All Saints.* By Sidney Dark. Morehouse Publishing Co., New York and Milwaukee. Pp. 159.

"Mackay of All Saints'", as he was always called, was a trusted Anglo-Catholic leader; a brilliant preacher; a great shepherd of souls, and father-confessor to all sorts and conditions of men; with a passion for being up to date in the pulpit from which he once said, "The modern generation wants to ring God up on the telephone, but it doesn't know His number". The gifted editor of the *Church Times* pictures for us in these pages a man who was first and foremost a parish priest; meticulous in his dress—he wore patent leather shoes—precise in his speech; who preached all his life to a converted congregation and was never known to visit a slum. Though not a trained theologian, he belonged to the "liberal" school of Catholics. He once said that "while he held without qualification the doctrine of the Incarnation, he quite understood how the acceptance of that doctrine might be compatible with the rejection of the Virgin Birth". "Mackay", says Dr. Dark, "was essentially Church of England", because he believed that the Church of England was essentially catholic. All Saints' under Mackay was the home of sane English Catholicism". In one of his gruff good-humored gibes Bishop Gore said, "The difference between Mackay and me is that Mackay likes the Church of England and I do not". Mr. Dark has placed the whole Church under great obligation by writing this comparatively brief but brilliant biography. It should be read and re-read by every parish priest.

—E. CLOWES CHORLEY.





# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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